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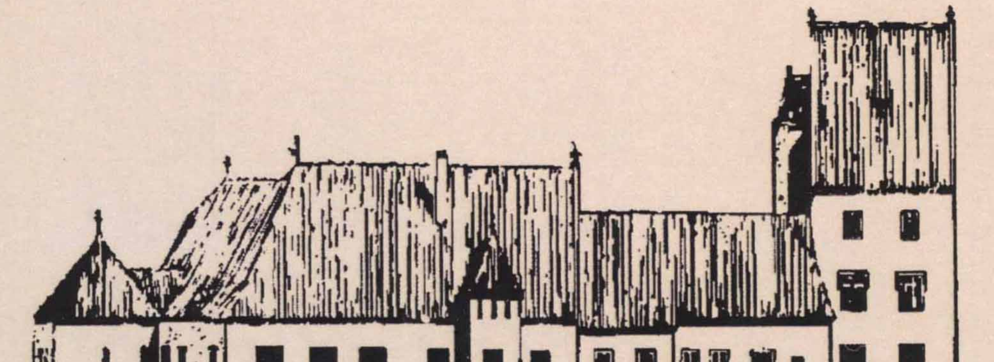

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ACTA MVSEI

XV. 1

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RADIOCARBON DATA FROM THE TURDAȘ-LUNCĂ ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE (PREVENTIVE RESEARCH OF THE YEAR 2011) (V) ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY OF TURDAȘ CULTURE IN ITS EPONYM SITE

Sabin Adrian LUCA*, Tiberiu Bogdan SAVA, Maria ILIE, Andreea DIMA, Daniela PASCAL, Gabriela SAVA, Cristian MĂNĂILESCU, Florentin PERIANU, Raluca TEODORESCU, Adrian LUCA*****

Abstract: *The preventive archaeological research in 2011 led to sensational discoveries. Between these are the samples collected for the extraction of radiocarbon data. The radiocarbon data is to be analysed in the following paper. They belong to: Neolithic and early Eneolithic (Turdaș culture), developed Eneolithic (Petrești culture) and the classical Dacian period (1st century BC-2nd century AD). We have, at this moment, the first stratigraphic column corroborated with absolute chronological data of the site that gives the name of the Turdaș culture. We analysed 40 samples that were collected from closed archaeological complexes (deep dwellings, pillar pits, ritual pits). The radiocarbon data obtained (from coal remains and animal bones) corroborated with stratigraphic observations led to the absolute and relative chronology of the site, but also to an absolute chronology of the Turdaș culture, a cultural phenomenon completely distinct from the Vinča culture, influenced by it to a small extent (phase Ia (fig. 33-40; table VI; graph 11-12) and b (fig. 24-32; table VI; graph 9-10); phase I / II (fig. 19-23; table V; graph 7-8); phase II (fig. 11-18; table IV; graph 5-6); phase II / III (fig. 8-10; table III) and phase III (fig.5-7; table III; graph 3-4). The following culture - Petrești - is illustrated by the samples from fig. 3-4; table II; graph 2, and the classical Dacian one by those from fig. 1-2; table I; graph 1). In graph 13 we have a general illustration of the evolution of radiocarbon data for the Turdaș and Petrești culture. All these firm data will bring a little peace in the souls of those seeking successes not achieved through work, but through speculation.*
Keywords: *Neolithic, Eneolithic and classical Dacian period, radiocarbon analyses, Turdaș-Luncă, preventive archaeological research campaign 2011, Transylvania, Romania.*

Rezumat: *Cercetările arheologice preventive din anul 2011 au condus la descoperiri senzaționale. Între acestea se află probele colectate pentru extragerea datelor radiocarbon, care vor fi analizate în acest articol. Ele aparțin: neoliticului și eneoliticului timpuriu (cultura Turdaș), eneoliticului dezvoltat (cultura Petrești) și perioadei dacice clasice (sec. I î.Hr. - sec. II d.Hr.). Avem, în acest moment, prima coloană stratigrafică coroborată cu date cronologice absolute ale sitului care dă numele culturii Turdașului. Am analizat 40 de eșantioane care au fost colectate din complexe arheologice închise (locuințe adânci, gropi de stâlpi, gropi rituale). Datele radiocarbon obținute (din resturi de cărbune și oase de animale) coroborate cu observații stratigrafice au condus la creionarea cronologiei absolute și relative a sitului, dar și la o cronologie absolută a culturii Turdaș, fenomen cultural complet distinct de cultura Vinča, de care a fost influențată de o mică măsură (faza Ia (fig. 33-40; tabelul VI; graficul 11-12) și b (fig. 24-32; tabelul VI; graficul 9-10); faza I / II (fig. 19- 23; tabelul V; graficul 7-8); faza II (fig. 11-18; tabelul IV; graficul 5-6); faza II / III (fig. 8-10; tabelul III) și faza III (fig.5 -7; tabelul III; graficul 3-4). Următoarea cultură - Petrești - este ilustrată de mostrele din fig. 3-4, tabelul II, graficul 2, iar cea clasică dacică de cele din fig. 1-2, tabelul I, graficul 1. În graficul 13 avem o ilustrare generală a evoluției datelor radiocarbon pentru cultura Turdaș și Petrești. Toate aceste date ferme vor aduce puțină pace în sufletele celor care caută succese care nu au fost obținute prin muncă, ci prin speculații.*
Cuvinte cheie: *Neolitic, Eneolitic și perioada dacică clasică, analize radiocarbon, Turdaș-Luncă, cercetare arheologică preventivă campania 2011, Transilvania, România.*

Brief history of the research of the site from Turdaș-Luncă, Hunedoara County

The archeological site from the border of Turdaș commune, Luncă or La Luncă point was reported from the 19th century by F.W. Schuster (Gooss 1877, 103; Gooss 1878, 593; Luca 2001, 19). The site was influenced by the stratigraphic research -

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at the level of the time - carried out in 1875 by Z. Torma (Gooss 1878, 593). Details about the life of the woman-archaeologist Z. Torma are highlighted in the works of M. Roska (Roska 1941), A. László (László 1991), Gh. Lazarovici (Lazarovici et alii 1991) or Luca (Luca 2001, 19-32). Additional details about the site itself were published by M. Roska in 1928, after stratigraphic archaeological research (Roska 1928) and 1941 (after a thorough exploration of the Z. Torma collections, mainly those in the deposits of the Museum of Transylvania in Cluj) (Roska 1941). The fundamental influence in the in-depth research of the site came after the research published by Gh. Lazarovici and collaborators in 1991 (Lazarovici et alii 1991, 115-120, 122-132). The systematic excavations started by Sabin Adrian Luca in 1992 took place until 1998. They were published in two volumes (Luca 2001; Luca 2018). Also, many articles have been published in Romanian (Luca 1996b; Luca 1997a; Luca 1999; Luca 2010; Luca et alii 2009a) or international languages (Luca 1993; Luca 1996; Luca 1996a; Luca 1998; Luca 1991-2000; Luca 2003; Luca et alii 2009). Their publication also led to a strong exchange of ideas, to which I responded in due time (Luca 2002; Luca 2003a). Even if the person quoted in the previous sentence preferred not to continue this overly volatile discussion, the opposite party preferred to continue its defamatory efforts by involving other people ("researchers"). In this article (the current one), the site from Turdaș-Luncă will answer to their affirmations.

Along with this stage, the mandatory idea to resume the issue related to the chronological and cultural relations between the cultures from Transylvania, Banat, but also from other surrounding areas was born. Several successive studies have been written on this topic (Luca 1997a; Luca 1998; Luca 1999-2000; Luca 2000; Luca 2008a; Luca 2016). The most serious problem was, without a doubt, the existence of a chronological and cultural terminology unfounded on some clear and existing reality in the field: Vinča-Turdaș and Turdaș-Vinča (a terminological compromise born of precarious knowledge of Neolithic Transylvania). The realities of the systematic researches on the site showed us two clear things: (1) there is no connection - not even formal - between the two cultures (until the beginning of Turdaș II / III and III culture phases) and (2) the chronology of one of them (Turdaș culture) is much shorter than the other (Vinča culture), being parallel in time with phases B, C and, partially, D of this culture (Luca 2006). However, Vinča has very good other discoveries in Transylvania (along with phase A_2 (Banat: Lazarovici 1979, 77-105 (general), 112-113 (ceramics); 122-132 (connections); Transylvania: Ciută 2015 – Limba; A2-A3; Rogozea – Tărtăria, 300 m, on the north-east side of the site from *Gura Luncii*; Luca *et alii* 2020a, Table III – base; Luca *et alii* 2020a, Table III – base) - maybe A_1 (Banat: Lazarovici 1979, 77-105 (general), 105-112 (ceramics); 122-132 (connections); Luca 1991; Transylvania: Luca 1996c – Romos; Tărtăria-*Gura Luncii*; Luca *et alii* 2020a, Table III – base ; Luca *et alii* 2020a, Table III – base) - and up to phase D (Lazarovici 1979, 77-105 (general), 122 (ceramics); 136-139 (connections); Transylvania: Alba Iulia-*Lumea Nouă – the time of the discovery is* Vinča D, cut culturally they belong to *Petrești culture*, and not *Foeni* as Gligor 2009 suggests all through its paper), completely broken/destroyed by the evolution of the Turdaș culture (Luca *et alii* 2000). In fact, a doctoral dissertation on this topic appeared (Suciu 2009), after the appearance of some articles that clarified the existence of pure Vinča culture (but also with some regional peculiarities) in western Transylvania (Luca *et alii* 2000) and the relationship between Vinča and Turdaș cultures, as independent cultures, and partially contemporary (Luca 2006).

The preventive research that followed (2011 - until today, 2020) - strengthened this belief, for us and the research teams of the site. Thus, new ideas were developed, both in terms of its organization, architecture and relative chronology (Lazarovici *et alii* 2014; Luca 1019; Luca (coordinator) 2012; Luca (coordinator) 2012a; Luca et Suciu 2014; Luca et Suciu 2015; Luca *et alii* 2012; Luca *et alii* 2017; Luca *et alii* 2017a; Luca *et alii* 2017c; Luca *et alii* 2017e; Luca *et alii* 2018a), as well as its absolute chronology (Luca, Suciu 2007; Luca et Suciu 2007a; Luca *et alii* 2016; Luca *et alii* 2017b; Luca *et alii* 2017d; Luca *et alii* 2018) and its relationship with the proposed stratigraphy, chronological and cultural frameworks (Luca *et alii* 2017; Luca *et alii* 2017a; Luca *et alii* 2017c; Luca *et alii* 2017e; Luca *et alii* 2018a).

The absolute chronology of Turdaș culture

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Some settlements with absolute data belonging to Turdaş culture

We use all the current correlations following the analysis of some Neolithic sites from which data of relative chronology, architecture, radiocarbon data and archaeological materials were extracted. These are the ones from Orăştie-Dealul Pemilor, point X_2 (Luca 2001; Luca, Pinter 2001), Hunedoara-Judecătorie (Luca et Roman 1999; Tincu 2015) or Peștera Cauce (Luca *et alii* 2004, 45, 68-70, 75, 78, 84-90, 103-109). As for the other surrounding Turdaș culture sites, they are located in Hunedoara county (Luca 2008 – Turdaș settlements), mostly.

Direct research of the samples from the eponymous settlement of the Turdaş culture

The research of radiocarbon samples regarding the Turdaș-*Luncă* archeological site are the results of collaboration between the Brukenthal National Museum and the RoAMS Laboratory of the National Research-Development Institute for Physics and Nuclear Engineering “Horia Hulubei”, Măgurele (about the research method see: Sava *et alii* 2019). The first direct collaboration between the two institutions was made in order to analyze a batch of archaeological materials collected from the site of Tărtăria-Gura Luncii (Luca 2016), published following the preventive archaeological research in 2014 (Luca *et alii* 2016). More recently, were published the absolute chronologies results of a stratigraphic column researched in 2019 (Luca *et alii* 2020; Luca *et alii* 2020).

The good development of the collaboration, as well as the acuity and finesse of the scientific results obtained, made it necessary to continue it at an even more sustained pace. The last 34 radiocarbon data were researched archaeologically in 2011 and could be researched in the laboratory following a program obtained through a national competition at AFCN.[1]Thus, the processing of the much larger lots from Turdaș-*Luncă* began. Some of them (on the absolute dating of closed archeological complexes, constituting stratigraphic parts of the site) have been - already - published (Luca et Perianu 2019; Luca et Perianu 2019a; Luca *et alii* 2017; Luca *et alii* 2017b; Luca *et alii* 2017c; Luca *et alii* 2017d; Luca *et alii* 2018; Luca *et alii* 2018a; Luca *et alii* 2019; Luca *et alii* 2019a și Luca *et alii* 2019b).

The classical dacian period (Table I; fig. 1-2; graph 1)

Apart from the Neolithic and Eneolithic archeological data, other archeological materials were discovered at Turdaş *Luncă*[2]. They were known from the first synthesis made on the excavations of Zsófia Torma by M. Roska (Roska 1941).

To our satisfaction, in the research area called sector A_1, a part of a ritual field of the free Dacians, in the classical period of development of their civilization, came to light (Luca 2012 (coord.), 119-134; Luca 2012 (coord.), 20-22). In that moment of the research we proceeded to take the coal from the archaeological complexes 1003 and 1004. As can be seen in Table I, they are within the relative time previously suggested by the discovery (I-II centuries AD).

Petrești culture (table II; fig. 3-4; graph 2)

Archaeological materials taken from the platforms (surface dwellings) and other types of deep archeological complexes have already been published (the radiocarbon data). They are - in our opinion - part of an early / developed horizon of Petrești culture. However, the data show that it is not about a contemporaneity with the Turdaş culture here, at Turdaș-Luncă (Luca *et alii* 2018; Luca *et alii* 2018a). Details about the absolute cultural and chronological expression of the people belonging to Petrești culture at Turdaș-*Luncă* had already been published (Luca 2018a).

[1]The project *The first prehistoric city dated with modern means in Romania* was co-financed by the *Administration of the National Cultural Fund* and took place between June and November 2019. The main partner in its development was the the National Research-Development Institute for Physics and Nuclear Engineering “Horia Hulubei”. The aim of the project was to promote, preserve and capitalize on the archaeological cultural heritage of the Brukenthal National Museum. Its results, in addition to the radiocarbon dating of a number of 35 samples from the site from Turdaș - Luncă, were: an outdoor exhibition that will be traveling to partner museums in the country, an online exhibition, bilingual catalog, leaflet, posters.

[2] We have already reported this type of discovery, from all eras, in the synthesis paper published immediately after the 2011 archaeological research: Luca 2012 (coord.), 119-134; Luca 2012 (coord.), 20-22. Until 2019, other preventive research works of the south of the site were carried out. Archaeological materials from the Roman or medieval period have appeared often and, less frequently, even from the Bronze Age or Hallstatt.

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We must mention that our observations show that, stratigraphically (but also chronologically - Fig. 3-4; Table II; Chart 2), we have at least two distinct Petrești horizons: one with large surface dwellings (grouped by 10-12) which are built on artificial “mounds” in which large quantities of older turdășan material are entrained (hence the frequent mixtures between the two archaeological cultures, as archaeological material, especially ceramic) and a newer one, with pits of large dimensions both horizontally and vertically (Luca 2019a, 12, 35, 36-37).

It is worth noting that at Turdaș-*Luncă* the habitation of Petrești population is long (chart 2). However - in our opinion - the oldest phase for this culture is not in this site. So, here we have a *hiatus* (at least at this moment) between the Petrești cultures (classical / early phase) and Turdaș III (first part).

Turdaș culture Phase II / III and III (table III; fig. 5-7 - phase III; 8-10 - phase II / III; graphs 3-4)

Unfortunately, so far we do not have radiocarbon data for the Turdaș III horizon (from surface dwellings with floors, but only from their foundation elements). One of the causes is the shortness of the living period, but also the destruction of the remains of the Turdaș III demolition infrastructure by the residents of Petrești culture to create the elevations, the platforms, on which they built their houses. The last horizon of construction at Turdaș seems to suffer due to this manner of construction (two-storey houses) and due to the frequent floods (not only fashion!) in the area.

One more thing to remember! Comparing graph 2 with graph 3 (but also figures 3-4 with 5-7 and tables II and III (first three data)) we find a difference in time that justifies a *hiatus* of habitation. More than that! The abandonment of the the site by the people of Turdaș culture (perhaps as a result of less friendly natural actions - Luca 2019a, 34-38) can be connected with a colonization - stronger to the north -, but also existing to the west and southwest, called by us "Turdaș III / IV" (Luca *et alii* 2020; Luca *et alii* 2020). This assumption can be based on the typological-stylistical analysis of the archaeological materials from sites such as Orăștie-*Dealul Pemilor, point* X_2 (Luca 2001; Luca, Pinter 2001) , Hunedoara-*Judecătorie* (Luca, Roman 1999; Tincu 2015), Alba Iulia-*Lumea Nouă* (Gligor 2009), Pianul de Jos (Bem 2015) or Cluj-Napoca (Maxim 1999 72-74, pl. VIII-X; Daróczi 2015). All these sites show that at the base / before the Petrești culture are the stratigraphs / times of the late Turdaș culture, as we have it in the eponymous site in phases II / III and III, defined by us. The Iclod cultural group / culture can also be linked to this moment (Maxim 1999, 87-92).

It can be noticed that - at least according to the composition of the shapes of the house pillars and the way they were dug in Turdaș - here there can be traced two forms of foundation architecture. In phase III the houses have a “classic” foundation shape (the houses have a floor; the ground floor has cooking hearths and cellars, and the “testum” type furnaces for heating and making bread; the foundation pits are quadrilateral - with usually one or two large pillars, the pits are aligned, in 95% of cases, in four rows, of four pits – rarely or 5 pits – most common. The houses are grouped around squares and groups of houses are surrounded by fences forming “neighborhoods”). In phase II / III it is a “mixed” type of foundation (some of the pillars are not buried in rectangular pits with rounded corners, but in the “classic” round pits).

Phase II / III dwellings are deep or semi-deep, large, associated with cellars, and - less frequently - with elements of surface dwellings similar to those of phase III (the difference is that the foundation pillars are not so rigorous drawed and the digging system of the foundation pillars is mixed (both rectangular pits in which 1-3 foundation pillars are inserted, and round pits with one pillar each)).

Turdaș Culture Phase II (table IV; fig. 11-18; graphs 5-6)

5850 BP represents the final years of phase II of Turdaș culture. Both typologically -stylistically, and in terms of absolute years, this phase lasts over 60-80 years BP.

From the architectural point of view, the dwellings of this phase are deep (sometimes they are groups of two or three pits) and have cellars - either connected to these groups or at some distance from them.

It must be noted that, for the 1827 complex, we have two data (figs. 10 and 16). The chronological difference between these is very small, the

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material of the samples was the same (animal bone), and the stratigraphy of the complex showed us from the moment of discovery that there is at least one level of restoration of the complex. The observation was confirmed at the time of absolute dating (footnote 4).

Turdaș culture phase I / II (table V; fig. 19-24; graphs 7-8)

This phase of Turdaș culture has been defined in recent years, in several articles (Luca *et alii* 2017; Luca *et alii* 2017a; Luca *et alii* 2017c). The Tăualaș type painting attracts attention, as a component part of the Turdaș culture, but its use has at least two typological-stylistic phases, I / II and II. These two parts of the same time (II) are at least 100 years BP.

From the architectural point of view, there are observed the deep houses, having several (two or three) pits used for living. The association with the cellars is similar to what happens in phase II.

Turdaș culture phase Ia și b (Table VI; fig. 25-32 – phase Ib; 33-40 – phase Ia; graphs 9-10 – phase Ib; 11-12 – phase Ia)

This chronological and cultural horizon was one of the least known in terms of the beginning of the culture and of the site. Absolute chronological data were missing, but also the typological-stylistic approaches necessary to define the place of the beginning of the culture within the surrounding contexts.

Moreover, the relations of this culture with the great Neolithic and Eneolithic culture of this part of Europe, Vinča, were not sufficiently known and led to baseless theories today (Last position on this matter: Luca 2006). The notions of Vinča-Turdaș and Turdaș-Vinča are obsolete, no doubt, because terminological and chronological confusions are born.

The following data undoubtedly show an unexpected reality for many researchers. First of all, we see that this phase is at least 100 years old BP. Secondly, there is an unexpected correlation between the fortifications discovered during the archaeological research (Luca (coord.) 2012, 33-45; Luca, Suciu 2014; Luca,Suciu 2015) and the very old phases of the site.

Stage conclusions

At this moment we have prepared for absolute dating a number of 8 human skeletons discovered in different areas of the site from Turdaș - *Luncă*, in burials belonging to different phases of the Turdaș culture and - maybe - Petrești. We say this because the inventory of graves is very poor and the existing stratigraphic intersections, not significant. These dates are needed because since we have dated remains of coal and animal bones, they can also be compared to samples from human bones.

Phase I of Turdaș culture is the first chronological and cultural part of a unique and independent culture, in the Vincian context on the middle Mureș Valley. It is born and evolves completely independently, being influenced - but - from time to time, by the great culture of the serbian "metropolis". (XXX 2008)

The Vincian evolution in Transylvania is somewhat different from Banat, Oltenia and southern Hungary or Serbia. Among the cultural elements specific only to Transylvania - as quality and quantity - is the painted pottery called *Lumea Nouă* (or Lumea Nouă-Zău) (Luca. Marțiș 2018; Luca, Aldea 2019). It occurs in the oldest subphases of the horizon A of the culture until the end of phase B (Luca *et alii* 2020; Luca *et alii* 2020, see the painted pottery fragment from Miercurea Sibiului-*Petriș* and its relative and absolute dating).

To the west of the site from Turdaș is the one from Șoimuș-*La Avicola*, recently published (Ștefan 2017), contemporary at least with phase I of the Turdaș culture, the Ia moment. Thus, the human bones here, from C182, are dated: 6233 ± 39 BP (5307 (95.4%) - 5197 calBC) (RoAMS 317.53) (Turdaș culture, phase Ia), and those from C270: 6020 ± 41 BP 5016 (95.4%) - 4799) (RoAMS 318.53) (Turdaș culture, phase Ib). These last two data confirm the fact that the remains of the human skull cap from Orăștie belong - *as I had stated* - to the Turdaș culture, phase Ib (today). All the other speculations advanced by some "colleagues" are related to pride, not to the historical-archaeological realities of the Turdaș era.

Another interesting thing is the one that - in the beginning moments of the site - old Vinća A elements (Ștefan *et alii* 2013, pl. XI/3; XII) are preserved here, in association with Lumea Nouă-Zău type painting (Ștefan *et alii* 2013, pl. XI/2). Later, the site evolves towards the Turdaș culture. Tărtăria-*Gura Luncii* can be seen at the height of a

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Vinča habitation - which begins at least in the A_2 moment of culture. This is shown by both radiocarbon data and stratigraphic contexts. From the data obtained in Rome (Borić 2015, 215, R-1630: 6200±65 BP, 2σ (95,4% probability): 5311-4996 calBC; R-1655: 6215±65 BP, 2σ (95,4% probability): 5315-5004 calBC; R-1631: 6310±65 BP, 2σ (95,4% probability): 5469-5077 calBC.), to those obtained in Bucharest (RoAMS) (Luca *et alii* 2020; Luca *et alii* 2020), the same thing is found - the site here begins its Vinća evolution *at least in the A_2 moment of culture*. The same conclusions are drawed by the observations from Miercurea Sibiului (Luca *et alii* 2020; Luca *et alii* 2020 – column 2, table III) and Limba (Luca *et alii* 2020; Luca *et alii* 2020 – column 3, table III). The discoveries from Tărtăria, reported by O.C. Rogozea have the same early dating (Rogozea 2017). He finds that, to the north of the site, there is a Vinča A_2-A_3 habitation, as we found, geographically, in 2015 between his research and the Neolithic tell we researched (Luca 2016, 209-221).

On the early Vinča horizon from the chronological beginning of the discoveries at Tărtăria, the painted fragments of the Lumea Nouă-Zău type appear, specific to a Vinča A_2-B chronological and cultural horizon. At Tărtăria, they appear for the first time on the horizon Vinča A - complex 56 (Luca *et alii* 2020; Luca *et alii* 2020, fig. 9, 13; foto 12-17; painted fragment: photo 17. For the latter one, the most important analogies are at: Maxim 1999, pl. XI, XIII/6). Analogies for the Lumea Nouă-Zău painting can be found both in the analyzed site - Tărtăria (Luca 2016, fig. 7/3 (Vinča B), 42/3 (Vinča A), 46/3 (Vinča A), 57/1(Vinča A), 61/4-5 (Vinča A), 69 (Vinča A), 137/1 (Vinča B), 149/1-5 (Vinča B), 158-159 (Vinča A_3- B_1); for better reproduction of the painting register: Luca et Marțiș 2018, LXXIV-LXXVI – Vinča B, LXXVII – Vinča A; drawing 3-4, 6-17, 19-21; photo 2-3 – Vinča A; Luca et Aldea 2019, foto 1-2, 5-11, 13-17, 19-20 – right (diggings from 1989: I. Paul, I.Al. Aldea), 46 – painted pottery fragment published in this article – Vinča A; drawing 2-3; XXX)) - and in Lumea Nouă (It must be stated that the Lumea Nouă-Zau type of pottery are mixed with Petrești pottery at: Gligor 2009, pl. CLVIII/1-15, CLIX-CLXIII, CLXVIII/1 ș.a. – could it belong to Foeni? In this publication, the coordinator indicates the same absolute chronological framing for Vinča, Lumea Nouă, Foeni și Petrești!?). Those from *Limba* (Ciută 2015, 54, fig. 21 – Vinča A_3-B_1; 56, fig. 32 – Vinča B_1; XXX 2007, 47-49, foto 28-30), *Zău* (Lazarovici 2010; Lazarovici 2012; Borić 2015, 209) or *Miercurea Sibiului* (Borić 2015, 210, GrA-26606: 6180±40 BP, 2σ (95,4% probabilitate): 5286-5002 calBC; GrA-30500: 6200±60 BP, 2σ (95,4% probabilitate): 5295-5045 calBC; GrN-29053: 6350±130 BP, 2σ (95,4% probabilitate): 5556-5001 calBC; GrA-33127: 6475±40 BP, 2σ (95,4% probabilitate): 5516-5357 calBC.) are not, in any case, Foeni, as some insinuate!

As for the Turdaș culture, it can be seen, once again, that it begins - at the earliest - contemporary with Vinča B_1 (or A_3-B_1?), but it is not *a Vinča type culture, but an independent one*, but - more certainly in relative time – it evolves from the border between phases B_1 and B_2 of this archaeological culture.

These data can be discovered, in general, and so far, in the database created on http://arheologie.ulbsibiu.ro (Luca et Suciu 2007; Luca et Suciu 2007a).

From S. Torma (Luca 2001, 19-27; Luca 2012 (coord.), 11-15) to M. Roska (Roska 1941, 7-15; Luca 2001, 27-29; Luca 2012 (coord.), 15-16) and other researchers (Luca 2001, 2929-32; Luca 2012 (coord.), 16-18) the archaeological site from Turdaș–*Luncă* has been more *speculated* - chronologically and culturally - than *researched*. Even we, relying heavily on the existing literature, speculated - without necessarily wanting this, more out of lack of extensive research - the data of our own research (Lazarovici *et alii* 2014; Luca 1993; Luca 1996; Luca 1996a; Luca 1996b; Luca 1998; Luca 2001; Luca 2003; Luca 2010; Luca et Spânu 2001; Luca *et alii* 2009; Luca *et alii* 2009a; Luca *et alii* 2012), not having always solid foundations. Today, however, we are getting closer and closer to the truth closest to reality of these times, using intensely everything that current technology provides us.

New data indicates that the oldest relative classification (for the beginning of Turdaș culture), Vinča B_2, used by the best connoisseur of Transylvanian and Banat Neolithic and Eneolithic cultures in Romania (Lazarovici *et alii* 1991, 122), used also in the first synthesis regarding Turdaș culture (Luca 2001, 30-32), is no longer valid now. Moreover, a colleague who today, for personal reasons, pushes Turdaș culture very late, agreed - 30 years ago - with a relative Vinča B_1 / B_2 classification of the beginning of Turdaș culture (Drașovean et Mariș 1982-1983, 90; pl.

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II/1-16; III/1-22), a date with which - also at the beginning - I did not agree, considering that the idea that the beginning of culture in the time of Vinča B_2 is more solid (Luca 2001, 31). The dating of phase I now (contemporary with Vinča A_3/B_1) forces us to reshape our ideas and see the real temporary history of the Turdaș culture which has - without a doubt - other things to tell us over time and research. We hope that the publication of data extracted from the soil lately, as well as the research of new evidence by the radiocarbon method, will bring us closer to the truth about a civilization so much scientifically speculated, that of Turdaș culture.

There are also some data - correct, in our opinion - extracted from sites researched several years ago. Relevant data appeared in the archaeological site from Daia Română (Gligor 2009, pl. CLXXXIII/1-3; Borić 2015, 205). They show that the site begins evolve around the year BP 5900 ± 100, develops around the year BP 5835 ± 100 and continues to function at least until the year BP 5710 ± 100. If we were to compare the data with those from Turdaș, they would fit, chronologically, in phases II and III of the Turdaș culture, and the last one could be an early Petrești.

The same is the case of the data taken from the Turdaș complexes from Orăștie-*Dealul Pemilor, point X_2*. They are framed into a Turdaș III and III / IV stage (5825 ± 60 BP; 5790 ± 55 BP) and Ib (6070 ± 70 BP) (Luca 2001, 139-145, pl. VI-IX). Earlier (Luca 1997) we stated that the settlement here can be relatively dated in phase C, perhaps even beginning of phase D of the Vinča culture (Luca 1997, 77).

At Peștera Cauce, the date is representative for the Turdaș III / IV or early Petrești horizon (Borić 2015, 205).

However, there is an attempt to "realize" the origin of a new archaeological culture, called Foeni[3], elsewhere than in Banat, following a migration from the south (Drașovean 2013; Drașovean 2014; Drașovean 2015) or from another direction forward from or towards Transylvania (it is difficult to define its direction due to the frequent difficulties of expression of the authors - Diaconescu 2014; Drașovean 2014; Gligor 2014; Tincu 2015; Suciu 2015). After the publication in 2009 of a paper that turned the relative chronology of western Transylvania upside down and renamed already defined archaeological cultures (Gligor 2009), everything was crowned with several papers, on the same theme, published in the same magazine (Analele Banatului, serie nouă), in 2013, 2014 and 2015. Much of their content is no longer of special value following the publication of the bibliography signed by S.A. Luca and collaborators after 2017.

As for the base of the Neolithic layer at Turdaș-*Luncă*, it is represented by a complex dating in the end of phase Ic of Starčevo-Criș culture (Luca *et alii* 2012).

Table VII was attached with the solely purpose of seing the comparaison in absolute years of the Turdaș and Vinča cultures.

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Conclusions

This batch of radiocarbon data is beginning to put order in the chronological and cultural realities long speculated over time, regarding Turdaș culture. The batches of archaeological materials, but also the radiocarbon data, show the unitary evolution - for over 400 years BP - of an archarological site, clearly different from the Vinča culture, as it is defined in phases B_{1-2}, C_{1-2} $_{(3)}$ and D_1. More about these observations will be seen in the series of volumes dedicated to the preventive research on this site (Luca 2019; Luca 2019a).

If we refer to the cultural realities of Hungary - which is often referred to - we see that in Transylvania, Turdaș culture, phase I, is largely contemporary (according to the radiocarbon data in this article) with the chronological phenomena of Banat (related to the Banat culture) - Old Tisza (Yerkes 2009, 1097-1098), and phases I / II, II and III with the Old Tisza - Classical Tisza culture (Yerkes 2009, 1096-1097). This confirms the

[3] Diggings from Banat undertaken by Fl. Drașovean, never published by the principles of the archaeological school from which he originates (monographically, on levels of habitation, closed complexes separately ilustrated etc.). The radiocarbon data published in connection to this archaeological site are not older Turdaș III and reach Turdaș III/IV, as shown in what it is published so far: Borić 2015, p. 206.

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chronological belonging of the Turdaș culture, phase I, to a chronological and cultural horizon before phase C of the Vinča culture ($A_{3?}$ -B) and the end of its chronology at the beginning of phase D of Vinča culture.

Several sites in Serbia show chronological series almost identical to Turdaş, including the eponymous one of Vinča culture (Borić 2015).

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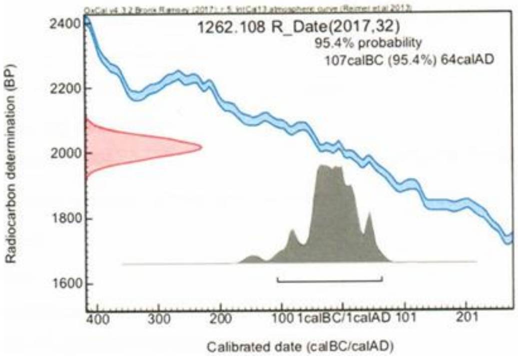

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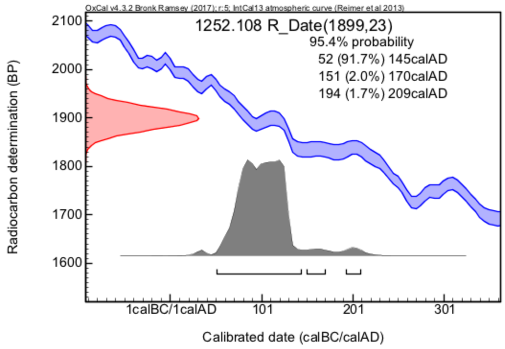

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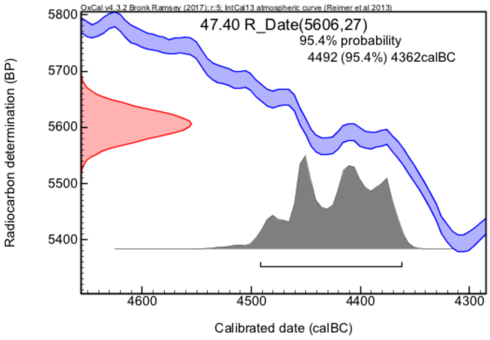

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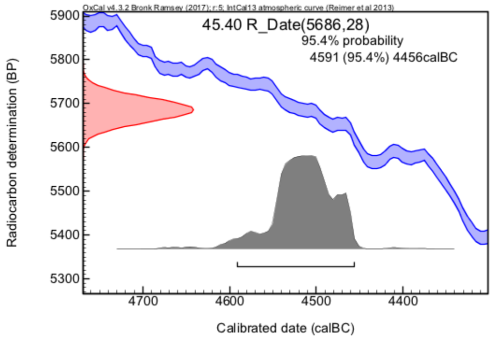

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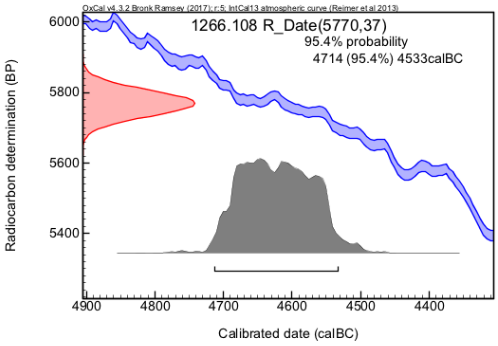

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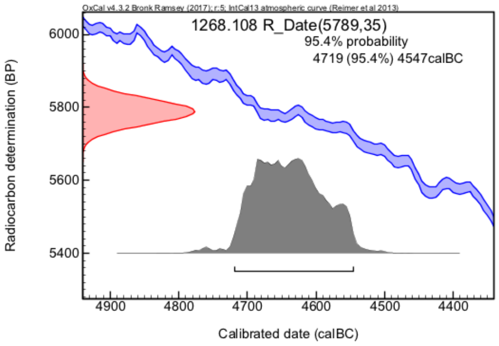

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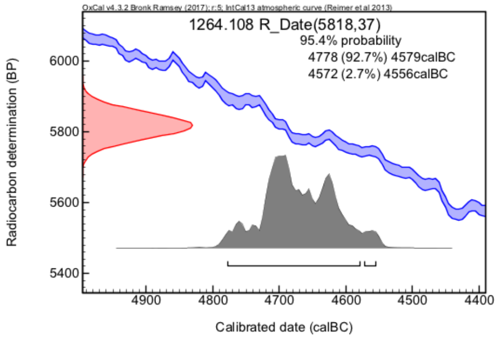

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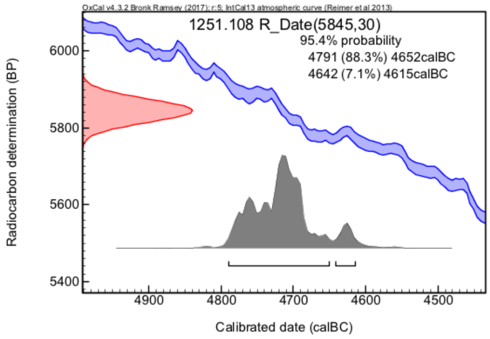

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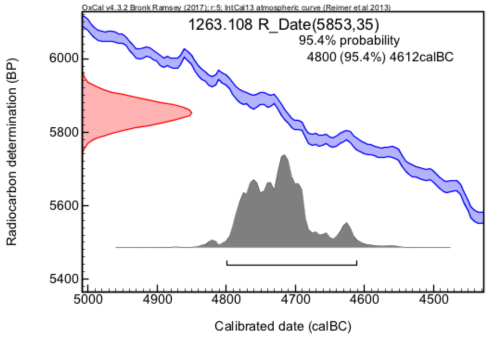

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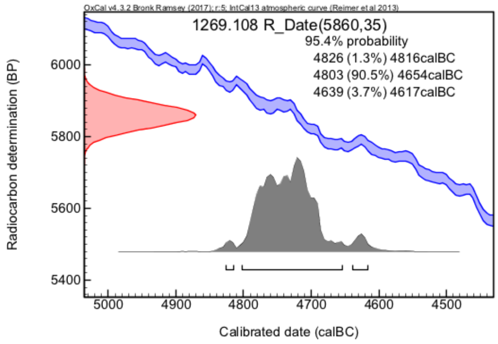

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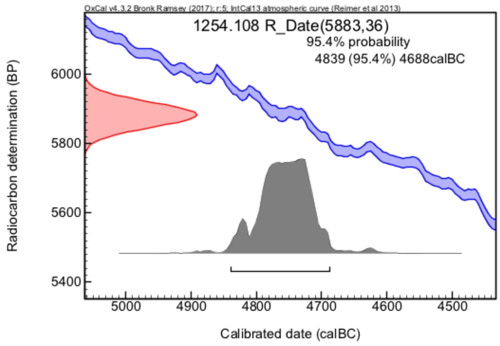

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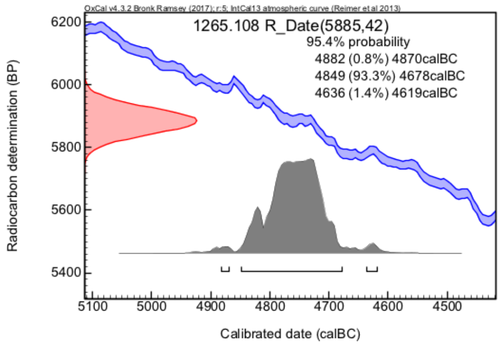

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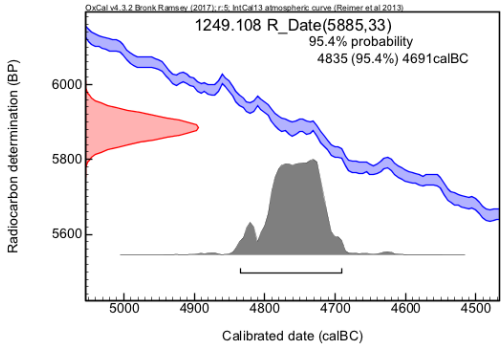

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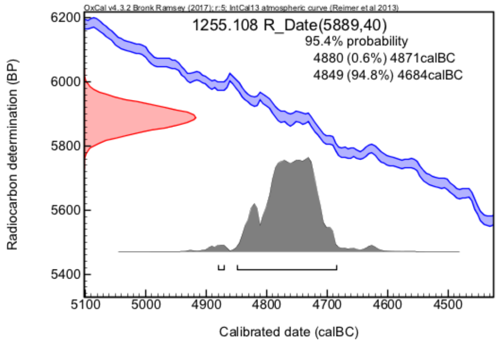

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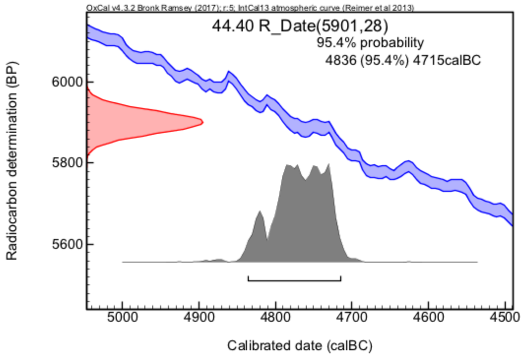

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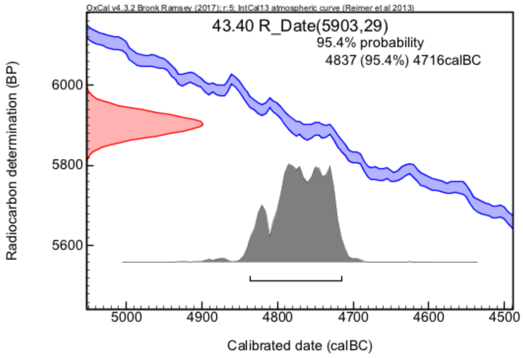

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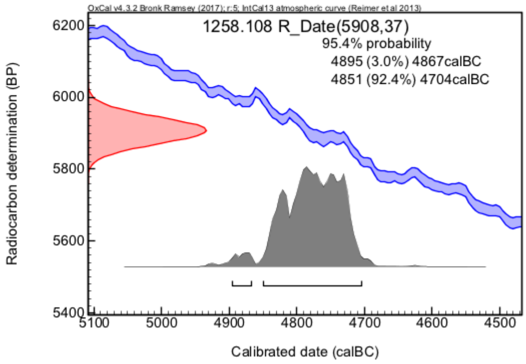

Fig. 17. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1258.108. Turdaş culture, phase II.

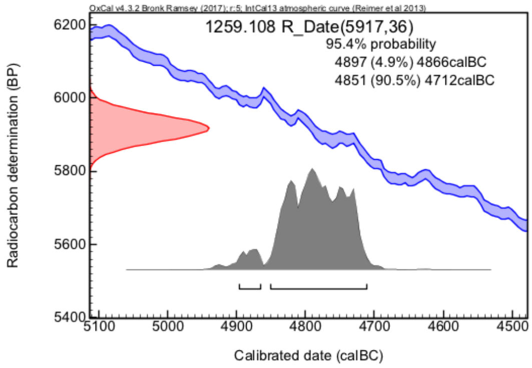

Fig. 18. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1259.108. Turdaş culture, phase II.

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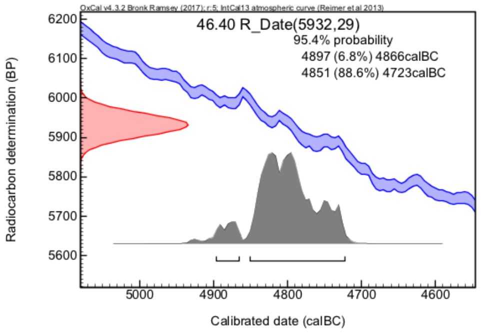

Fig. 19. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 46.40. Turdaş culture, phase I/II.

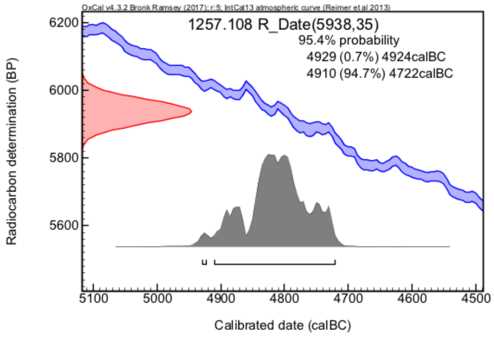

Fig. 20. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1257.108. Turdaş culture, phase I/II.

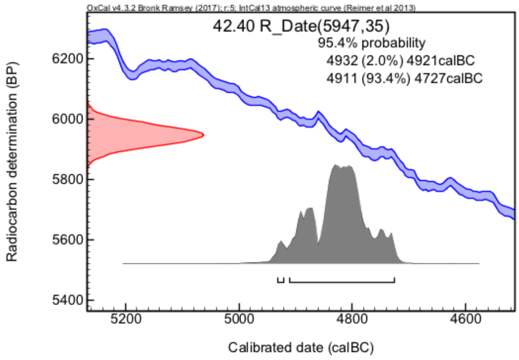

Fig. 21. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 42.40. Turdaş culture, phase I/II.

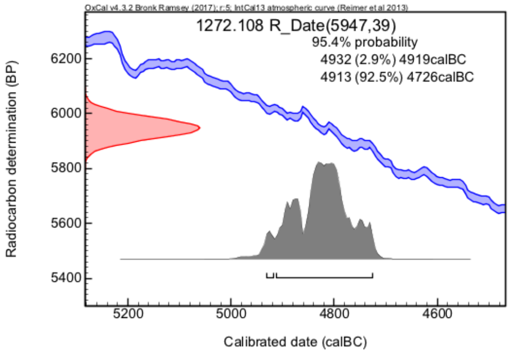

Fig. 22. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1272.108**.** Turdaş culture, phase I/II.

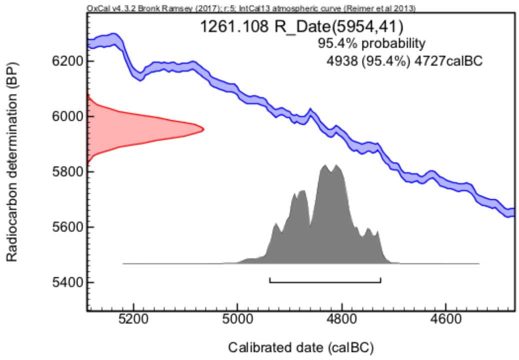

Fig. 23. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1261.108**.** Turdaş culture, phase I/II.

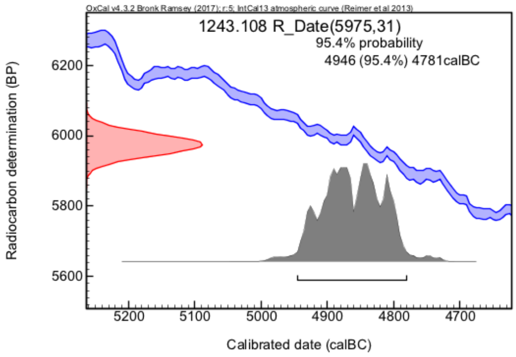

Fig. 24. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1243.108. Turdaş culture, phase Ib.

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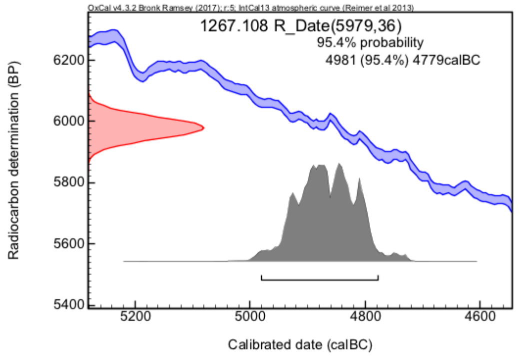

Fig. 25. Turdaș-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1267.108. Turdaș culture, phase Ib.

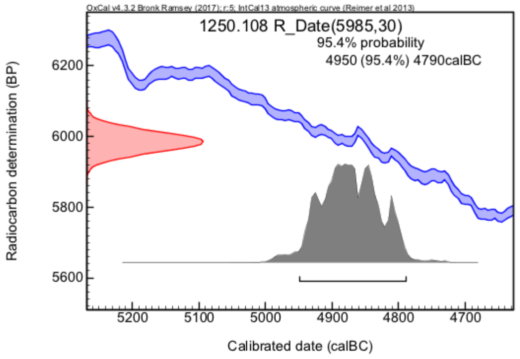

Fig. 26. Turdaș-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1250.108. Turdaș culture, phase Ib.

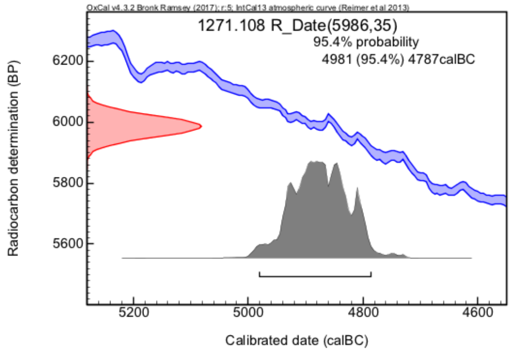

Fig. 27. Turdaș-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1271.108. Turdaș culture, phase Ib.

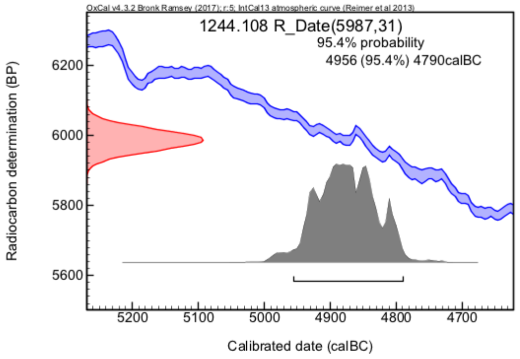

Fig. 28. Turdaș-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1244.108. Turdaș culture, phase Ib.

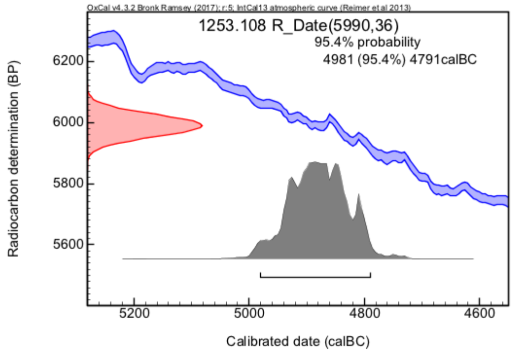

Fig. 29. Turdaș-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1253.108. Turdaș culture, phase Ib.

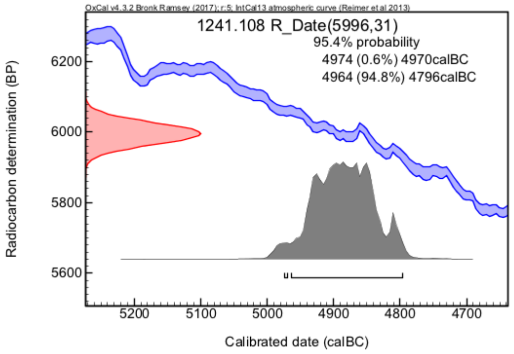

Fig. 30. Turdaș-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1241.108. Turdaș culture, phase Ib.

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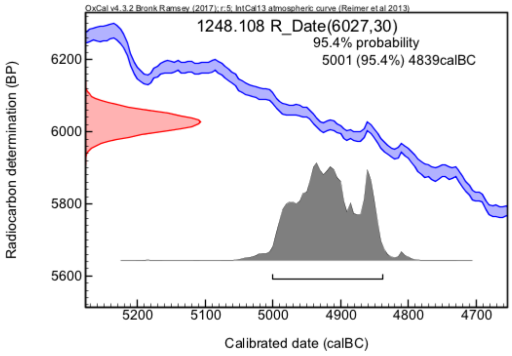

Fig. 31. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1248.108. Turdaş culture, phase Ib.

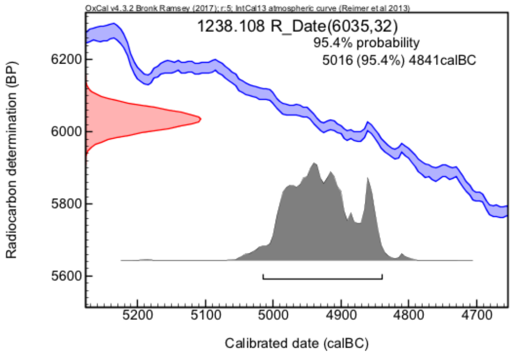

Fig. 32. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1238.108. Turdaş culture, phase Ib.

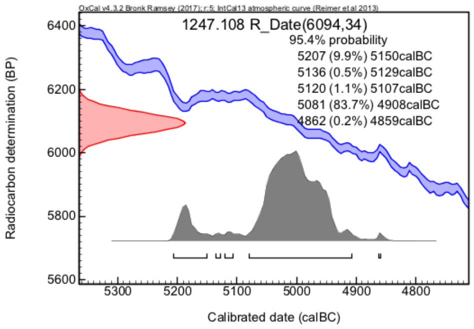

Fig. 33. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1247.108. Turdaş culture, phase Ia.

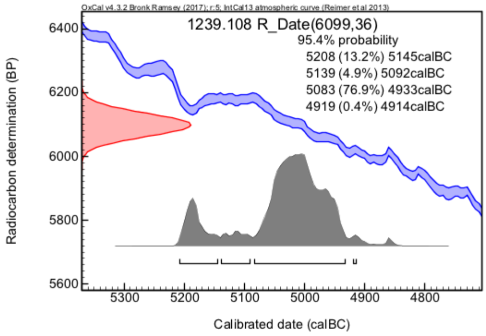

Fig. 34. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1239.108. Turdaş culture, phase Ia.

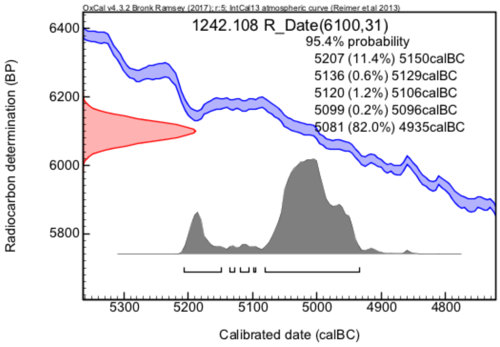

Fig. 35. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1242.108. Turdaş culture, phase Ia.

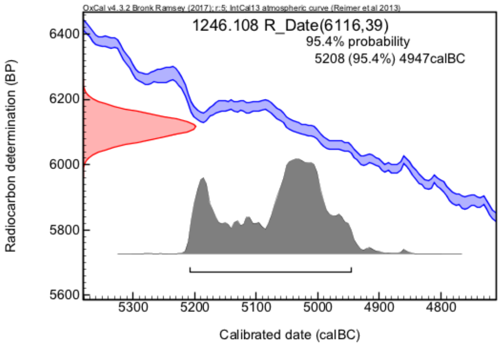

Fig. 36. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1246.108. Turdaş culture, phase Ia.

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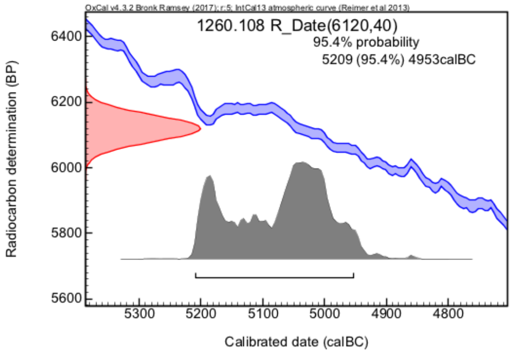

Fig. 37. Turdaș-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1260.108. Turdaș culture, phase Ia.

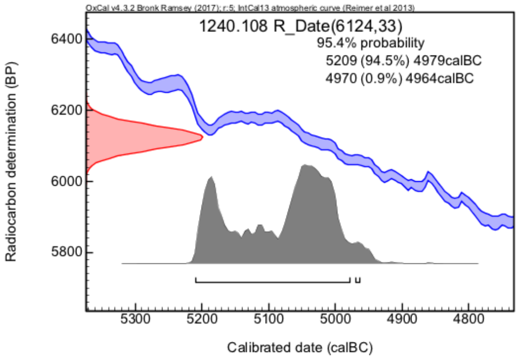

Fig. 38. Turdaș-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1240,108. Turdaș culture, phase Ia.

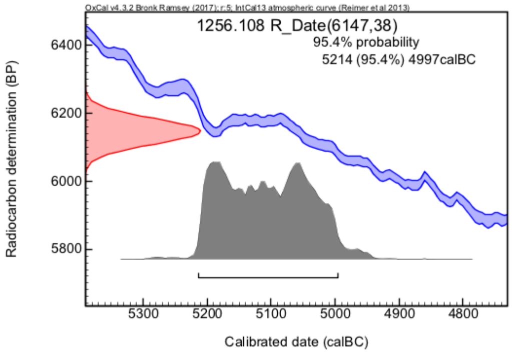

Fig. 39. Turdaș-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1256.108. Turdaș culture, phase Ia.

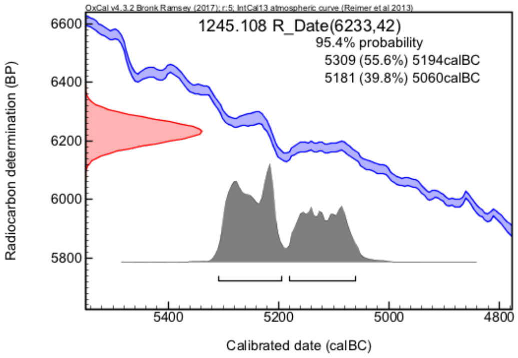

Fig. 40. Turdaș-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. RoAMS 1245,108. Turdaș culture, phase Ia.

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Tables

Table I. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Absolute data for the classical dacian civilisation.

Sample code	Dating BP	Dating calBC	Sec tor	Com plex	Relative dating	Type of material
RoAMS 1262.108; Fig. 1	2017±32	2σ (95,4% probability): - 107 calBC – 64 calAD	A_1	1004	Classical dacian period[4]	Coal
RoAMS 1252.108; Fig. 2	1899±23	2σ (95,4% probability): - 91.7% - 52 – 145 calAD - 2.0% - 151 – 170 calAD - 1.7% - 194 – 209 calAD	A_1	1003	Classical dacian period	Coal

Table II. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Absolute data for Petreşti culture (Luca *et alii* 2018; Luca *et alii* 2018a).

Sample code	Dating BP	Dating calBC	Sec tor	Complex	Relative dating	Type of material
RoAMS 47.40; Fig. 3	5606±27	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4492 – 4362	B	1878	Petreşti	Animal bone
RoAMS 45.40; Fig. 4	5686±28	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4591 – 4456	C	403	Petreşti	Animal bone

Table III. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Absolute data for Turdaş culture, phases II/III (fig. 8-10) and III (fig. 5-7).

Sample code	Dating BP	Dating calBC	Sec tor	Complex	Relative dating	Type of material
Turdaş culture phase III						
RoAMS 1266.108; Fig. 5	5770±37	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4714 – 4533	B	353	Turdaş, phase III	Animal bone
RoAMS 1268.108; Fig. 6	5789±35	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4719 – 4547	B	1837	Turdaş, phase III	Animal bone
RoAMS 1264.108; Fig. 7	5818±37	2σ (95,4% probability): - 92,7% - 4778 – 4579 - 2,7% - 4572 – 4556	B	1854B	Turdaş, phase III	Animal bone
Turdaş culture phase II/III						
RoAMS 1251.108, Fig. 8	5845±30	2σ (95,4% probability): - 88.3% - 4791 – 4652 - 7.1% - 4642 – 4615	B	1512	Turdaş, phase II/III	Coal
RoAMS 1263.108; Fig. 9	5853±35	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4800 – 4612	B	382	Turdaş, phase II/III	Animal bone
RoAMS	5860±35	2σ (95,4% probability):	B	1827	Turdaş,	Animal

[4] Natea *et alii* 2012; Natea *et alii* 2013.

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1269.108; Fig. 10		- 1,3% - 4826 – 4816 - 90,5% - 4803 – 4654 - 3,7% - 4639 – 4617			phase II/III[5]	bone

Table IV. Turdaș-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Absolute data for Turdaș culture, phase II.

Sample code	Dating BP	Dating calBC	Sec tor	Com plex	Relative dating	Type of material
RoAMS 1254.108; Fig. 11	5883±36	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4839 – 4688	B	1618 A	Turdaș, phase II	Coal
RoAMS 1265.108; Fig. 12	5885±42	2σ (95,4% probability): - 0,8% - 4882 – 4870 - 93,3% - 4849 – 4678 - 1,4% - 4636 – 4619	B	1609	Turdaș, phase II	Animal bone
RoAMS 1249.108; Fig. 13	5885±33	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4835 – 4691	B	217	Turdaș, phase II[6]	Coal
RoAMS 1255.108; Fig. 14	5889±40	2σ (95,4% probability): - 0,6% - 4880 – 4871 - 94,8% - 4849 – 4684	B	1506 B	Turdaș, phase II	Coal
RoAMS 44.40; Fig. 15	5901±28	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4836 – 4715	A_1	1021 A	Turdaș, phase II	Animal bone
RoAMS 43.40; Fig. 16	5903±29	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4837 – 4716	B	1827	Turdaș, phase II	Animal bone
RoAMS 1258.108; Fig. 17	5908±37	2σ (95,4% probability): - 3,0% 4895 – 4867 - 92,4% 4851 – 4704	B	1616 A	Turdaș, phase II	Coal
RoAMS 1259.108; Fig. 18	5917±36	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4,9% 4897 – 4866 - 90,5% 4851 – 4712	B	1692	Turdaș, phase II[7]	Coal

Table V. Turdaș-*Luncă,* preventive archaeological research 2011. Absolute data for Turdaș culture, phase I/II.

Sample code	Dating BP	Dating calBC	Sector	Complex	Relative dating	Type of material
RoAMS 46.40; Fig. 19	5932±29	2σ (95,4% probability): - 6.8% - 4897 – 4866 - 88.6% - 4851 – 4723	A	23	Turdaș, phase I/II[8]	Animal bone
RoAMS 1257.108 ; Fig. 20	5938±35	2σ (95,4% probability): - 0,7% - 4929 – 4924 - 94,7% - 4910 – 4722	B	1591	Turdaș I/II[9]	Coal
RoAMS 42.40;	5947±35	2σ (95,4% probability): - 2.0% - 4932 – 4921	A	33	Turdaș, phase	Animal bone

[5] The data from fig. 10: 5860±35 BP (1,3% - 4826 – 4816 ; 90,5% - 4803 – 4654; 3,7% - 4639 – 4617 calBC) is from the same complex as the one from fig. 16 (5903±29 BP; 4837 – 4716 calBC). The difference of time is due to a reuse of the archaeological complex.
[6] Luca 2019a, 79-80.
[7] Luca 2019a, 120-121.
[8] Luca *et alii* 2017a; Luca *et alii* 2017c.
[9] Luca 2019a, 116.

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Fig. 21		- 93.4% - 4911 – 4727			I/II[10]	
RoAMS 1272.108 ; Fig. 22	5947±39	2σ (95,4% probability): - 2,9% - 4932 – 4919 - 92,5% - 4913 – 4726	B	1810A	Turdaş I/II	Animal bone
RoAMS 1261.108 ; Fig. 23	5954±41	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4938-4727	C	965C	Turdaş I/II	Coal

Table VI. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Absolute data for Turdaş culture, phase Ia şi b.

Sample code	Dating BP	Dating calBC	Sec tor	Compl ex	Relative dating	Type of material
Turdaş culture phase Ib						
RoAMS-1243.108; Fig. 24	5975±31	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4946 – 4781	C	351	Turdaş, phase Ib[11]	Coal
RoAMS 1267.108; Fig. 25	5979±36	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4981 – 4779	B	1801	Turdaş, phase Ib	Animal bone
RoAMS 1250.108; Fig. 26	5985±30	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4950 – 4790	C	1673	Turdaş, phase Ib[12]	Coal
RoAMS 1271.108; Fig. 27	5986±35	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4981 – 4787	A_1	1028	Turdaş, phase Ib	Animal bone
RoAMS 1244.108; Fig. 28	5987±31	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4956 – 4790	A	88	Turdaş, phase Ib[13]	Coal
RoAMS 1253.108; Fig. 29	5990±36	2σ (95,4% probability): - 4981 – 4791	C	1508	Turdaş, phase Ib[14]	Coal
RoAMS 1241.108; Fig. 30	5996±31	2σ (95,4% probability): - 0.6% - 4974 – 4970 - 94.8% - 4964 – 4796	B	238	Turdaş, phase Ib[15]	Coal
RoAMS 1248.108; Fig. 31	6027±30	2σ (95,4% probability): - 5001 – 4839 calBC	B	218	Turdaş, phase Ib	Coal
RoAMS 1238.108; Fig. 32	6035±32	2σ (95.4% probability): - 5016 – 4841	A	146	Turdaş, phase Ib	Coal
Turdaş culture phase Ia						
RoAMS 1247.108; Fig. 33	6094±34	2σ (95,4% probability): - 9.9% - 5207 – 5150 - 0.5% - 5136 – 5129 - 1.1% - 5120-5107	B	194	Turdaş, phase Ia[16]	Coal

[10] Luca *et alii* 2017.
[11] Luca 2019a, 107-108.
[12] Luca 2019a, 118-119 – it is published as part of sector B; in fact it is positioned at the limit between sector B and C of the archaeological site.
[13] Luca 2019a, 52.
[14] Luca 2019a, 112-113.
[15] Luca 2019a, 80-81.
[16] Luca 2019a, 57-58.

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		- 83.7% - 5081 – 4908 - 0.2% - 4862 – 4859				
RoAMS 1239.108; Fig. 34	6099±36	2σ (95,4% probability): - 13.2% - 5208 – 5145 - 4.9% - 5139 – 5092 - 76.9% - 5083 – 4933 - 0.4% - 4919 – 4914	B	267	Turdaş, phase Ia	Coal
RoAMS 1242.108; Fig. 35	6100±31	2σ (95,4% probability): - 11.4% - 5207 – 5150 - 0.6% - 5136 – 5129 - 1.2% - 5120 – 5106 - 0.2% - 5099 – 5096 - 82.0% - 5081 – 4935	B	210	Turdaş, phase Ia[17]	Coal
RoAMS 1246.108; Fig. 36	6116±39	2σ (95,4% probability): - 5208 – 4947	A	83	Turdaş, phase Ia[18]	Coal
RoAMS 1260.108; Fig. 37	6120±40	2σ (95,4% probability): - 5209 – 4953	B	233	Turdaş, phase Ia[19]	Coal
RoAMS 1240,108; Fig. 38	6124±33	2σ (95,4% probability): - 94,5% - 5209 – 4979 - 0.9% - 4970 – 4964	B	187	Turdaş, phase Ia[20]	Coal
RoAMS 1256.108; Fig. 39	6147±38	2σ (95,4% probability): - 5214 – 4997	C	2147	Turdaş, phase Ia	Coal
RoAMS 1245.108; Fig. 40	6233±42	2σ (95,4% probability): - 55,6% - 5309 – 5194 - 39,8% - 5181 – 5060	B	204	Turdaş, phase Ia[21]	Coal

Table VII. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011 Absolute data for Petreşti and Turdaş culture (phases III, II/III, II, I/II şi Ia-b in comparaison with the absolute data from Vinča.

Vinča-Belo Brdo[22]	Turdaş-Luncă
Hd-17401; 5673±34 – ▼7.3, Vinča B; GrN-16597; 5728±34.	RoAMS 47.40; 5606±27; Fig. 3; Petreşti culture RoAMS 45.40; 5686±28; Fig. 4; Petreşti culture
GrN-1537; 5845±160 – ▼3.48, Vinča D2; Hd-17374; 5855±27 – ▼4.1, Vinča D1.	RoAMS 1266.108; 5770±37; Fig. 5, Turdaş culture, phase III RoAMS 1268.108; 5789±35; Fig. 6, Turdaş culture, phase III RoAMS 1264.108; 5818±37; Fig. 7, Turdaş culture, phase III RoAMS 1251.108, 5845±30; Fig. 8, Turdaş culture, phase II/III RoAMS 1263.108; 5853±35; Fig. 9, Turdaş culture, phase II/III RoAMS 1269.108; 5860±35; Fig. 10, Turdaş culture, phase II/III
	RoAMS 1254.108; 5883±36; Fig. 11, Turdaş

17 Luca 2019a, 75-77.
18 Luca 2019a, 51-52.
19 Luca 2019a, 90-91.
20 Luca 2019a, 53-55.
21 Luca 2019a, 70-71.
22 Borić 2015, p. 216-217.

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	culture, phase II RoAMS 1265.108; 5885±42; Fig. 12, Turdaș culture, phase II RoAMS 1249.108; 5885±33; Fig. 13, Turdaș culture, phase II RoAMS 1255.108; 5889±40; Fig. 14, Turdaș culture, phase II RoAMS 44.40; 5901±28; Fig. 15, Turdaș culture, phase II RoAMS 43.40; 5903±29; Fig. 16, Turdaș culture, phase II RoAMS 1258.108; 5908±37; Fig. 17, Turdaș culture, phase II RoAMS 1259.108; 5917±36; Fig. 18, Turdaș culture, phase II
	RoAMS 46.40; 5932±29; Fig. 19, Turdaș culture, phase I/II RoAMS 1257.108; 5938±35; Fig. 20, Turdaș culture, phase I/II RoAMS 42.40; 5947±41; Fig. 21, Turdaș culture, phase I/II RoAMS 1272.108; 5947±39; Fig. 22, Turdaș culture, phase I/II RoAMS 1261.108; 5954±41; Fig. 23, Turdaș culture, phase I/II
	RoAMS-1243.108; 5975±31; Fig. 24, Turdaș culture, phase Ib RoAMS 1267.108; 5979±36; Fig. 25, Turdaș culture, phase Ib RoAMS 1250.108; 5985±30; Fig. 26, Turdaș culture, phase Ib RoAMS 1271.108; 5986±35; Fig. 27, Turdaș culture, phase Ib RoAMS 1244.108; 5987±31; Fig. 28, Turdaș culture, phase Ib RoAMS 1253.108; 5990±36; Fig. 29, Turdaș culture, phase Ib RoAMS 1241.108; 5996±32; Fig. 30, Turdaș culture, phase Ib RoAMS 1248.108; 6027±30; Fig. 31, Turdaș culture, phase Ib RoAMS 1238.108; 6035±32; Fig. 32, Turdaș culture, phase Ib
Hd-17525; 6051±34 – ▼6.9 Vinča B; Hd-16639; 6081±68 – ▼6.4 Vinča C.	RoAMS 1247.108; 6094±34; Fig. 33, Turdaș culture, phase Ia RoAMS 1239.108; 6099±36; Fig. 34, Turdaș culture, phase Ia
Hd-16864; 6145±34 – ▼7.1 Vinča B; Hd-14110; 6149±63 – ▼7.8 Vinča B; Hd-16636; 6180±40 – ▼7.8 Vinča B; GrN-1546; 6190±60 – ▼8 Vinča A; Hd-17674; 6198±51 – ▼7.1 Vinča B.	RoAMS 1242.108; 6100±31; Fig. 35, Turdaș culture, phase Ia RoAMS 1246.108; 6116±39; Fig. 36, Turdaș culture, phase Ia RoAMS 1260.108; 6120±40; Fig. 37, Turdaș culture, phase Ia RoAMS 1240,108; 6124±33; Fig. 38, Turdaș culture, phase Ia

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	RoAMS 1256.108; 6147±38; Fig. 39, Turdaş culture, phase Ia
Hd-14184; 6249±31 – ▼9.3 Vinča A; Hd-17776; 6259±47 – ▼6.9 Vinča B; Hd-14235; 6264±22 – ▼8.5 Vinča A; Hd-17665; 6273±49 – ▼8.4 Vinča A; Hd-16733; 6293±79 – ▼7 Vinča B; Hd-16661; 6353±66 – ▼ 8.7 Vinča A.	RoAMS 1245.108; 6233±42; Fig. 40, Turdaş culture, phase Ia

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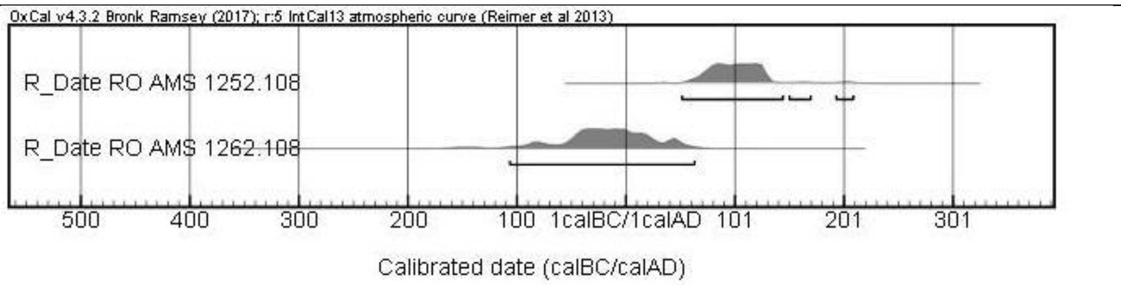
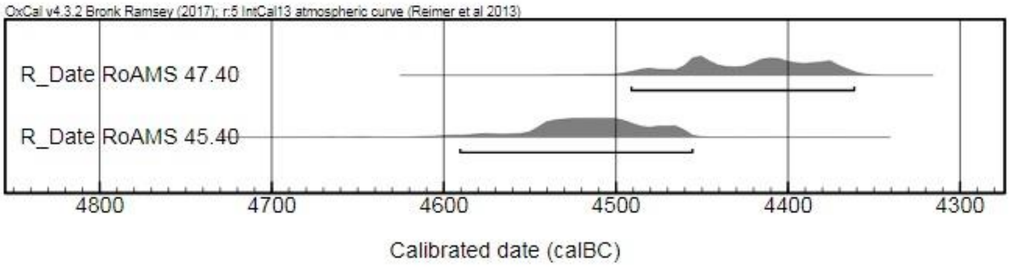
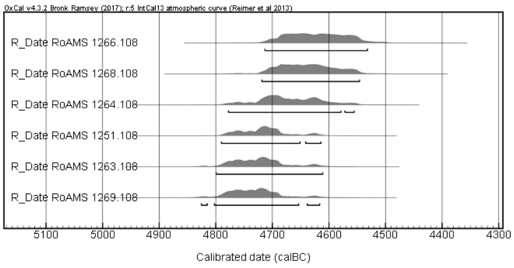
Graphs



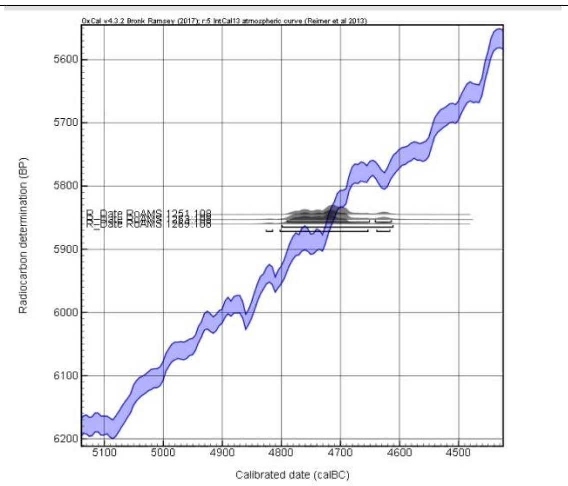
Graph 1. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Classic Dacian Period



Graph 2. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Petreşti culture.



Graph 3. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Turdaş culture, phase II/III şi III.



Graph 4. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Turdaş culture, phase II/III şi III.

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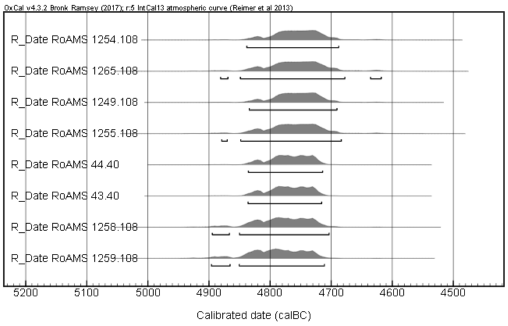
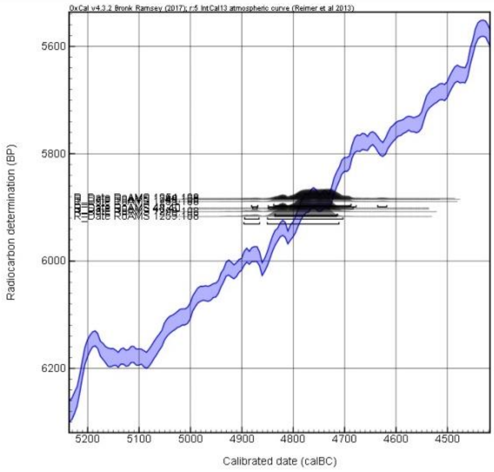
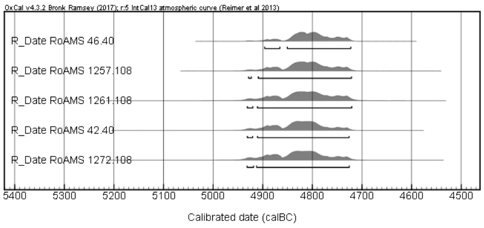


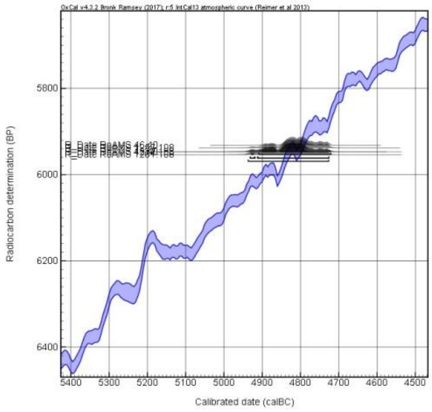
Graph 5. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Turdaş culture, phase II.



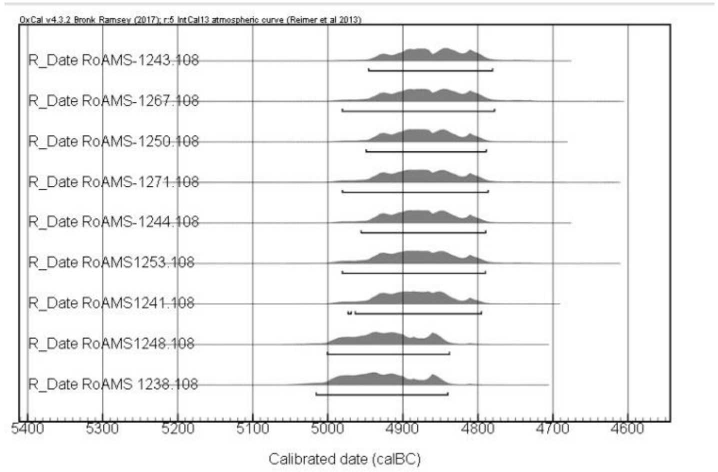
Graph 6. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Turdaş culture, phase II.



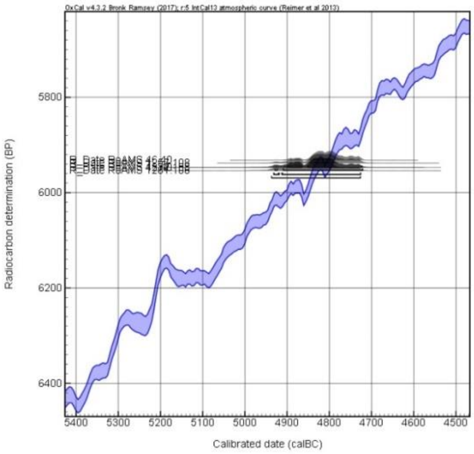
Graph 7. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Turdaş culture, phase I/II.



Graph 8. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Turdaş culture, phase I/II.



Graph 9. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Turdaş culture, phase Ib.



Graph 10. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Turdaş culture, phase Ib.

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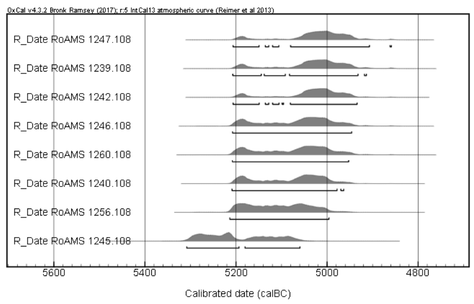
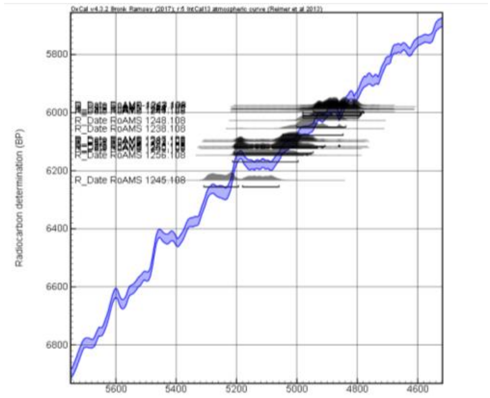
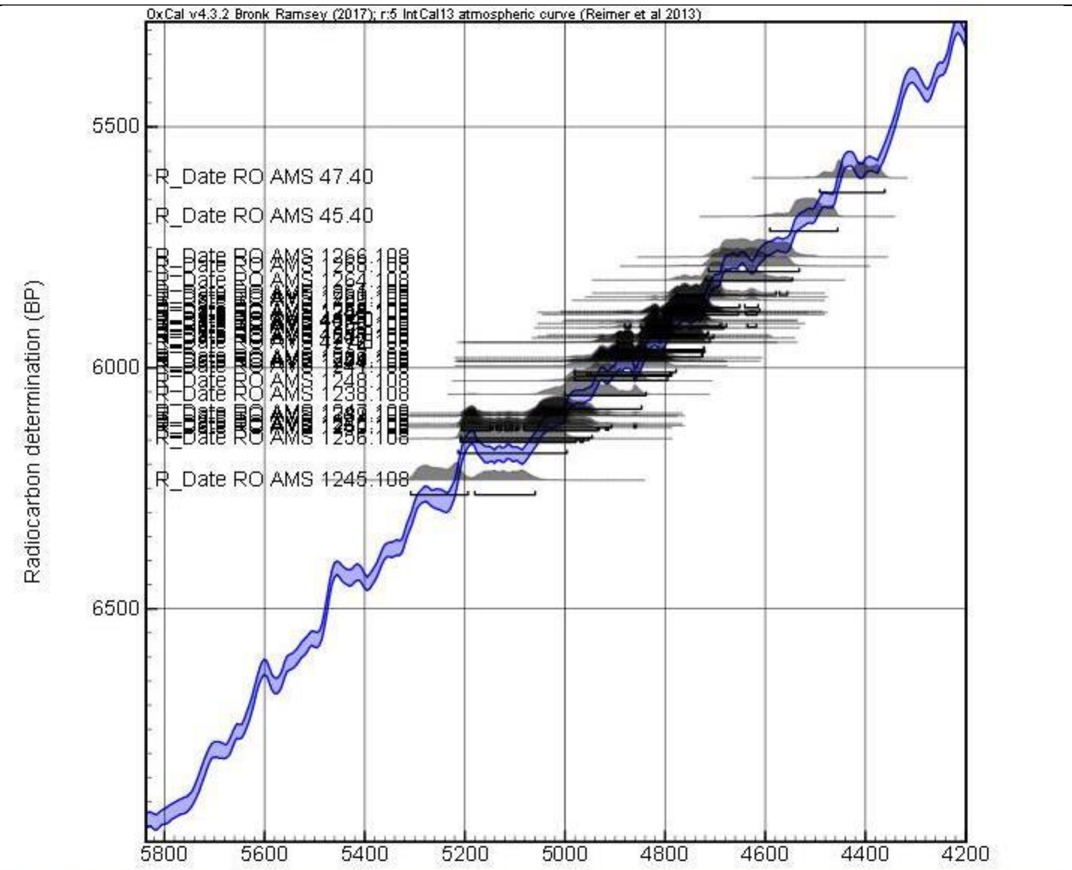


Graph 11. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Turdaş culture, phase Ia.



Graph 12. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Turdaş culture, phase Ia.



Graph 13. Turdaş-*Luncă*, preventive archaeological research 2011. Neolithic and Aeneolithic cultures (Turdaş and Petreşti).

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HOW FAR HOARDED COINS CAN BE SPREAD AFTER DISCOVERY? THE ADVENTURE OF SOME COINS FROM TULGHIEȘ

Silviu Istrate PURECE*

Abstract: *One of the most important hoard containing Celtic type coins, and discovered on the territory of Romania, was found at Tulghieș, Mireșu Mare Commune, Maramureș County in 1939. The importance of this hoard consisted in its very complex composition, with rare and diverse coin types. Spectacular is, also, the adventure of the hoard's coins, some of them traveled on large distances and generated interesting debates between scholars. A large amount of coins was brought to Vâlcea County, Copăceni lot, from which 4 coins are kept in the Vâlcea County Museum collection.*
Keywords: *Tulghieș hoard, Celtic coin, Dacian coin, Copăceni, Celtic iconography.*

Rezumat: *Unul dintre cele mai importante tezaure care conțin monede de tip celtic, descoperite pe teritoriul României, a fost găsit la Tulghieș, comuna Mireșu Mare, județul Maramureș în 1939. Importanța acestui tezaur a constat în compoziția sa foarte complexă, cu tipuri monetare rare și diverse. Spectaculară este, de asemenea, aventura monedelor tezaurului, unele dintre acestea călătorind pe distanțe mari și generând dezbateri interesante între cercetători. O cantitate mare de monede a fost aduse în județul Vâlcea, lotul Copăceni, din care 4 monede sunt păstrate în colecția Muzeului Județean Vâlcea.*
Cuvinte cheie: *Tezaurul de la Tulghieș, monedă celtică, monedă dacică, Căpăceni, iconografie celtică.*

The movement of Celtic groups from central Europe to the south-eastern part of the continent produced major changes in the regions where they arrived. Among the elements of social and political life that the Celts brought with them is the use of coin as an object of prestige, an object used for manifesting power and accumulating wealth. The coin becomes a support for the iconographical elements that define the power of the issuer, which generated a multitude of monetary types that appear in association with the emergence of new power centers. This reality is illustrated by many hoards discovered along the Danube line and north of it. One of the most interesting hoards from the Carpatho-Danubian area was found at Tulghieș, Mireșu Mare Commune, Maramureș County, remarkable for its very diverse composition (Pârpăuță 2006, 296). Equally remarkable is the true adventure of hoard's coins, which were, over time, scattered in many private or public collections.

Thanks to the investigation made by R. Tohătan at Tulghieș (Tohătan 1991, 31), the events who took place after the hoard discovery were reconstituted. So, the Tulghieș hoard was found in the year 1939 (probably 15 April) (Tohătan 1991, 27) following some field works done by a group of soldiers (Tohătan 1991, 28).

The coins, around 450-470 (Tohătan 1991, 31), were deposited in a clay pot, the pit, in which the hoard was hided, had a flagstone as cover (Tohătan 1991, 28).

Even if the officer who was in command at that time in the region announced that the hoard will be send to Bucharest, just a part of it arrived at National Antiquities Museum, published by D. Popescu (104 coins) (Popescu 1944, 201-242). He has taken for himself a significant number of coins, estimated at 170, which he had sold to some private collectors. Part of those coins sold by the officer was published by K. András (101 coins) (András 1944, 9-14), based on the photographs provided by one buyer from Oradea. Those two published lots contain in total, as you can observe, 205 coins.

A large amount of coins, probably around 175 pieces, had been kept by the soldier who discovered the hoard (Tohătan 1991, 31). Until he finished his military service a small quantity of coins was locality distributed, 11 of them being obtained by the Maghiar National Museum from Budapest (Tohătan 1991, 30). Most of the coins were taken by the soldier to his locality of origin – Copăceni, Vâlcea County (Tohătan 1991, 30). In the end of '50 -ties many coins were sold and had arrived in private or, less often, in public collections (Preda, Petre 1975, 168).

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Because a large number of coins came from Copăceni area, created an initial impression that those coins has to been part of a hoard found there (Iliescu 1961, 656-658; Mitrea 1961a, 586; Mitrea 1961b, 147), even if, from typological point of view, they can't be placed in the numismatic landscape of Oltenia region. Under the label "coins from Copăceni hoard" 6 coins were published (Iliescu 1961, 656-658). Corrections were made later (Iliescu 1991, 44) after the conclusive investigations conducted by Gh. I. Petre at Copăceni (Preda, Petre 1975, 147) and R. Tohătan at Tulghieș (Tohătan 1991, 27-35). Those two investigations clearly proved that all the coins from the so called "Copăceni hoard" are part of the same hoard with those from the two lots published in 1944 (Popescu 1944, 201-242; András 1944, 9-14).

O. Iliescu saw in different public and private collections, until 1991, 50 coins which had been part of Copăceni lot, without mentioning the coins kept by the Vâlcea County Museum (Iliescu 1991, 44) even if C. Preda affirmed in 1975 that in the collection of the „History Museum of Rîmnicu Vîlcea" are such coins (Preda, Petre 1975, 168). C. Preda estimated that around 110-120 coins are linked with the Copăceni lot (here he include also a group of coins considerate to be false (Preda, Petre 1975, 168; Preda 1971, 248; Gramatopol 1969, 23-32; Gramatopol 1997, 73-74; Iliescu 1991, 43) and purchased by the Numismatic Cabinet of Rumanian Academy Library) (Preda, Petre 1975, 168).

After studying all the ancient coins from Vâlcea County Museum numismatic collection, I identified 4, classified in 3 types, which seems to be part of Tulghieș-Mireșu Mare hoard. Two of them, belong to the type initially called *Tulghieș-Copăceni* (Preda 1973, 92) and then *Tulghieș-Mireșu Mare „cu cap imberb"* (Preda 1998, 155). We have to keep in mind that such coins are not specific to Oltenia and the only one source possible is the Copăceni lot. We can't exclude the possibility that those coins to be brought to the museum by Gheorghe I. Petre, a very close collaborator of the institution, who obtained a series of coins for his collection (Preda, Petre 1975, 168, Dolfi 2018, 74).

As we already know, the coin presence in the Vâlcea County Museum was attested in 1975. It is very clear that the entrance moment had to be placed in the previous years. An early registration it is indicated also by the museum's inventory register, where those coins are placed in the first ten positions. This situation is possible just if the coins were obtained close after the museum inauguration which was in 1952. So we have to suppose that the acquisition moment has to be placed at the beginning of years '60-ties. This period is, also, the one when the coins from Copăceni lot become very popular among collectors and scholars (Iliescu 1991, 38, 40; Gramatopol 1997, 73). It is very possible that the initial inventory numbers to be 4, 5, 6 and 7. As we can see below, two of them kept their original numbers, first three positions being attributed, at the beginning, to coins from Jiblea hoard (Purece 2020)[1]. This switching appeared because of the coins movement between collection and exhibitions or other locations.

The description of the Tulghieș hoard's coins, „Copăceni" lot, kept in Vâlcea County Museum collection.

1. Coin belonging to the type *Tulghieș-Mireșu Mare " with shield and wild boar"*

Inventory number 5, weight: 13.39 g, size: 26 x 24,2 mm, axis: 3.

Obverse: A man's head to the right, wearing a laureal wreath formed by three rows of leafs. The forehead hair is in a spiral shape.

Reverse: Horseman riding to the right, wearing a helmet. Above the horseman is a wild boar and behind him a shield. His back arm is turned to back. The horseman's legs weren't drawn.

2. Coin belonging to the type *Tulghieș-Mireșu Mare „with Audoleon monogram"*

Inventory number 2, weight: 12.94 g, size: 25,5 x 24,3 mm, axis: 10.

Obverse: A man's head to the right, wearing a laureal wreath with large leaves. The mustache' S shape can be very clear seen.

Reverse: Horseman riding to the right, with his right hand lifted and with the left one sustained by the horse's croup. Under the horse is an Audoleon monogram in X shape, with globules between arms and at the arms terminations. The horsehair is made by 14 globules. Some gaps can be seen on horse's legs, body and tail. The horseman's head and right arm break the pearl circle which surrounding the entire scene. The horseman's legs weren't drawn.

[1] Vezi articolul ce va apărea în Terra Sebus din 2020.

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3. Coin belonging to the type *Tulghieș-Mireșu Mare "with imberb head"*

Inventory number 4, weight: 13.06 g, size: 22,8 x 22,2 mm, axis: 3.

Obverse: Beardless man's head to the right, wearing a laureal wreath. Globules are used to make the eye, lips and the nose tip. Large globules surround the entire scene.

Reverse: Horseman riding to the right, with a hand sustained by the horse's croup. In front of the horse chest is a rosette made from four points. Under the horse is situated a large globule. The entire scene is surrounded by a circle made with large globules. The reverse image lost its clarity because of an imprecise strike.

4. Coin belonging to the type *Tulghieș-Mireșu Mare "with imberb head"*

Inventory number 9, weight: 13.33 g, size: 26,2 x 25 mm, axis: 12.

Obverse: Beardless man's head to the right, wearing a laureal wreath. Globules are used to make the eye, lips and the nose tip. Large globules surround the entire scene.

Reverse: Horseman riding to the right, with a hand sustained by the horse's croup. In front of the horse chest is a rosette made from four points. Under the horse is situated a large globule. The entire scene is surrounded by a circle made with large globules. The horseman's arms and the horsehair are not very clear imprinted on coin.

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1. Tulghieș-Mireșu Mare "with shield and wild boar" coin, inventory number 5

2. Tulghieș-Mireșu Mare "with Audoleon monogram" coin, inventory number 2

3. Tulghieș-Mireșu Mare "with imberb head" coin, inventory number 4

4. Tulghieș-Mireșu Mare "with imberb head" coin, inventory number 9

Scara 1,5/1 și 1/1

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TERRA SIGILLATA POTTERY FOUND AT MIERCUREA SIBIULUI (SIBIU DISTRICT) AND TURDAŞ (HUNEDOARA DISTRICT)

Augustin UNGUREANU*
Claudiu MUNTEANU**

Abstract: *This article presents several terra sigillata fragments unearthed at Miercurea Sibiului (1 item) and Turdaș (4 items). The stamped fragment from Miercurea Sibiului comes from eastern Gaul and is dated in the second century A. D., while the fragments from Turdaș come from Germania Superior and are dated at the end of the second century and the beginning of the third century A. D. The presence of this terra sigillata fragments contribute to the understanding of commercial relations in the province of Dacia.*
Keywords: *terra sigillata, pottery, Roman, Turdaș, Miercurea Sibiului.*

Rezumat: *Acest articol prezintă câteva fragmente de terra sigillata descoperite la Miercurea Sibiului (1 exemplar) și Turdaș (4 exemplare). Fragmentul ștempilat de la Miercurea Sibiului provine din Gallia de est și se datează în secolul II e.n., în timp ce fragmentele de la Turdaș provin din Germania Superior și se datează la sfârșitul secolului II și începutul secolului III. Prezența acestor fragmente de terra sigillata contribuie la înțelegerea relațiilor comerciale din provincia Dacia.*
Cuvinte cheie: *terra sigillata, ceramică, roman, Turdaș, Miercurea Sibiului.*

This paper presents some Roman pottery of the *terra sigillata* type, unearthed in two different locations where archaeological excavations took place - Miercurea Sibiului, Sibiu district, and Turdaș, Hunedoara district.

After the Roman conquest the number of imports of luxury pottery grows, and the soldiers and colonists in the newly-founded province contribute the most at the dissemination of the *terra sigillata* in the civilian and military settlements in Dacia. In Dacia, after the process of urbanizing develops, the imports of *terra sigillata*, and generally luxury items, intensifies (Popilian 1976, 25).

The first fragment presented is the one from Miercurea Sibiului. Near this town were found numerous Roman era materials (Munteanu 2018, 43-46). Are mentioned foundations, a *terra sigillata* cast, lamps, pottery, tombstones and other objects. After several researches in the area of the town was considered the existence of an extended rural settlement whose traces concentrate in the northwestern part, in the place called *Livadie* and the Roman road to *Apulum* was also identified near the railway station. Several *villae rusticate* were also identified, as well as a thermal and road-related settlement (Popa 2002, 43).

This fragment of *terra sigillata* was found during the archaeological excavations realised on the future highway Sibiu - Orăștie, section 3, site IV (fig. 1-3) in 2012. The archaeological feature 138 (fig. 4) is a superposition of early Medieval dwellings or utilitary spaces and are irregularly-shaped, having the dimensions 7.40 x 7.10 meters. There are several levels of usage, the first being at - 0.20 meters. The second level is at - 0.40 meters, being full of reused Roman bricks. Here was found the fragment of *terra sigillata* with a stamp having the the inscription MARTI [F]. The lowest level is at - 0.90 meters and was filled with stones and soil.

The fragment belongs to the ring-shaped bottom of a bowl (fig. 5-8). Most likely, it belongs to a bowl of the Drag. 37 type (Dragendorff 1895, taf. III.). The clay is reddish with brown firnis and presents no decorations. The size of the fragment is 7.8 cm x 10.2 cm. The potter was identified after the stamp as being MARTIALIS, one of the most prolific potters from Chemery Foulquemont (Hartley, Dickinson 2010, 310). The size of the stamp is 2.2cm x 0.7 cm. From the last letter is seen only the lower part of the letter F. Thus the stamp can be read - MARTI [F], where TI is in ligature. This potter produced several forms of bowls, cups and dishes. The bowl can be dated in the period 100 - 140 A. D.? (Hartley, Dickinson 2010, 314). It is possible that this product reached *Dacia* with the first Roman soldiers, but we cannot exclude the commercial way, this centre of

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pottery production from eastern Gaul being important for supplying the province with new luxury products.

We further present four other fragments of *terra sigillata* unearthed at Turdaș (fig. 9-13). In this case, no potter stamp was preserved and their identification wass made exclusively on the basis of decorative elements. During this analysis we were able to identify that this fragments belong to a bowl of the Drag. 37 type, a product of *Germania Superior* at the end of the second century A.D. This is the workshop of COMITIALIS from Westerndorf (Gabler 2012, *passim*).

The first fragment has a glossy reddish clay and zoomorphic decoration - a panther to the left inside a double medallion (Kellner 1981, 10, 13, 14). Two bucks to the right appear on this fragment (Kellner 1981, 34) and a small dog to the left, a circle, the tale of a lion and a medallion, probably a double one, also appear.

The second fragment has almost no firnis, has zoomorphic decoration - a lion to the right (Kellner 1981, 37), a circle and a portion of a double medallion.

The third fragment has zoomorphic decoration - a dog and a fragmentarly buck (Kellner 1981, 34).

The fragment no. 4 has zoomorphic decoration - a part of the tale and leg of a lion (Kellner 1981, 37), the back side of a small dog (Kellner 1981, 39) and a fragment of a double medallion.

Those pottery fragments were found in the feature 1(fig. 13), at the site Turdaș - *Luncă* in 2015 (R.C.A.P.L. 2015). Here were also found two structures - structure 1, having 11 x 6 meters and structure 2 (fig. 11-12), having 10 x 8 meters.

Near the village of Turdaș were found, during several decades, several items belonging to the Roman era: roof tiles, provincial pottery and *terra sigillata*. On the terraces of the *Alghiori* valley exists a Roman rural settlement (Popa 2002, 71). Near the forest can be traced the Roman road and remnants of Roman dwellings.

In *Dacia*, most of the *sigillata* imported from Westerndorf was found in the central and southern part of the province. It was found at *Apulum*, *Romula*, Slaveni, *Dierna*, *Drobeta* and *Tibiscum* (Rusu-Bowlindeț 2016, 382), but also in *Moesia Superior* at *Singidunum* and *Viminacium* (Bjelajac 1990, taf. 41, 420), and in *Moesia Inferior* at *Novae* (Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, taf. 20, 314).

CATALOGUE

EASTERN GAUL

Chemery Foulquemont

Bowl Drag. 37?: fragment of a ring-shaped bottom, with the centred stamp in interior - MARTI[F]. Dimensions - 2.2 cm x 0.7 cm, thickness 7 mm. Dated 100 – 140 A.D. Found at Miercurea Sibiului, feature 138, - 0,20 - 0,40 meters (fig. 5-8).

GERMANIA SUPERIOR

Westerndorf

Bowl Drag. 37: fragment with the dimensions 9 x 10.4 cm; clay: reddish (Munsell 5YR, 6/6 red), red firnis (Munsell 10 R, 4/8 red).

Westerndorf - COMITIALIS. For analogies, see *Viminacium* (Bjelajac 1990, taf. 41, 420) and *Novae* (Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, taf. 20, 314). Dating: the reign of Commodus - the beginning of the third century A.D.; Found at Turdaș, feature 1, -0,20 - 0,40 m (fig. 14, 18).

Bowl Drag. 37: fragment with the dimensions 7.6 x 12 cm; clay: reddish (Munsell 5YR, 6/6 red), red firnis (Munsell 10 R, 4/8 red).

Westerndorf - COMITIALIS. For analogies, see *Viminacium* (Bjelajac 1990, taf. 41, 420) and *Novae* (Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, taf. 20, 314).

Dating: the reign of Commodus - the beginning of the third century A.D.; Found at Turdaș, feature 1, -0,20 - 0,40 m (fig. 15, 18).

Bowl Drag. 37: fragment with the dimensions 6.9 x 8.2 cm; clay: reddish (Munsell 5YR, 6/6 red), red firnis (Munsell 10 R, 4/8 red).

Westerndorf - COMITIALIS. For analogies, see *Viminacium* (Bjelajac 1990, taf. 41, 420) and *Novae* (Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, taf. 20, 314).

Dating: the reign of Commodus - the beginning of the third century A.D.; Found at Turdaș, feature 1, -0,20 - 0,40 m (fig. 16, 18).

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Bowl Drag. 37: fragment with the dimensions 3.8 x 6 cm; clay: reddish (Munsell 5YR, 6/6 red), red firnis (Munsell 10 R, 4/8 red).

Westerndorf - COMITIALIS. For analogies, see *Viminacium* (Bjelajac 1990, taf. 41, 420) and *Novae* (Dimitrova-Milčeva 2000, taf. 20, 314).

Dating: the reign of Commodus - the beginning of the third century A.D.; Found at Turdaş, feature 1, -0,20 - 0,40 m (fig. 17-18).

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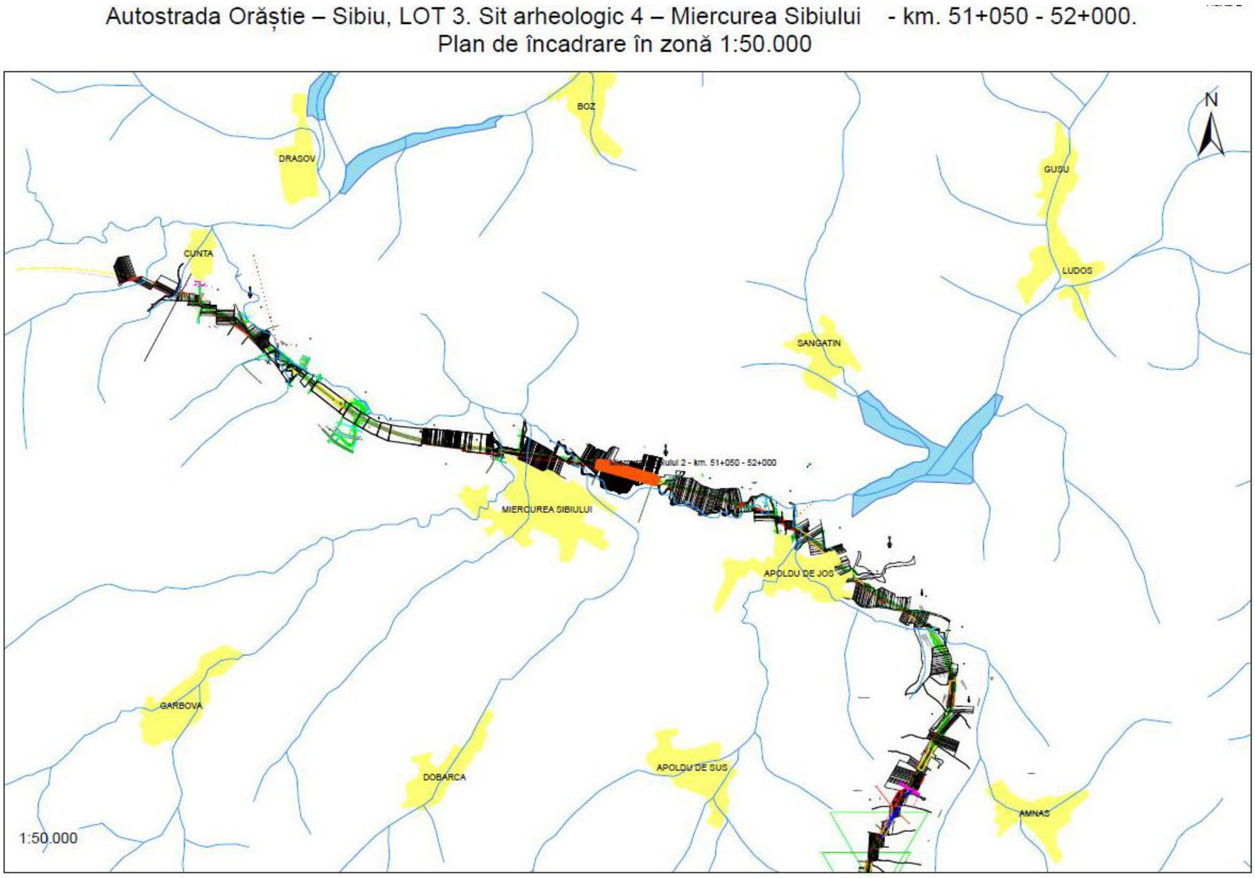

Fig. 1

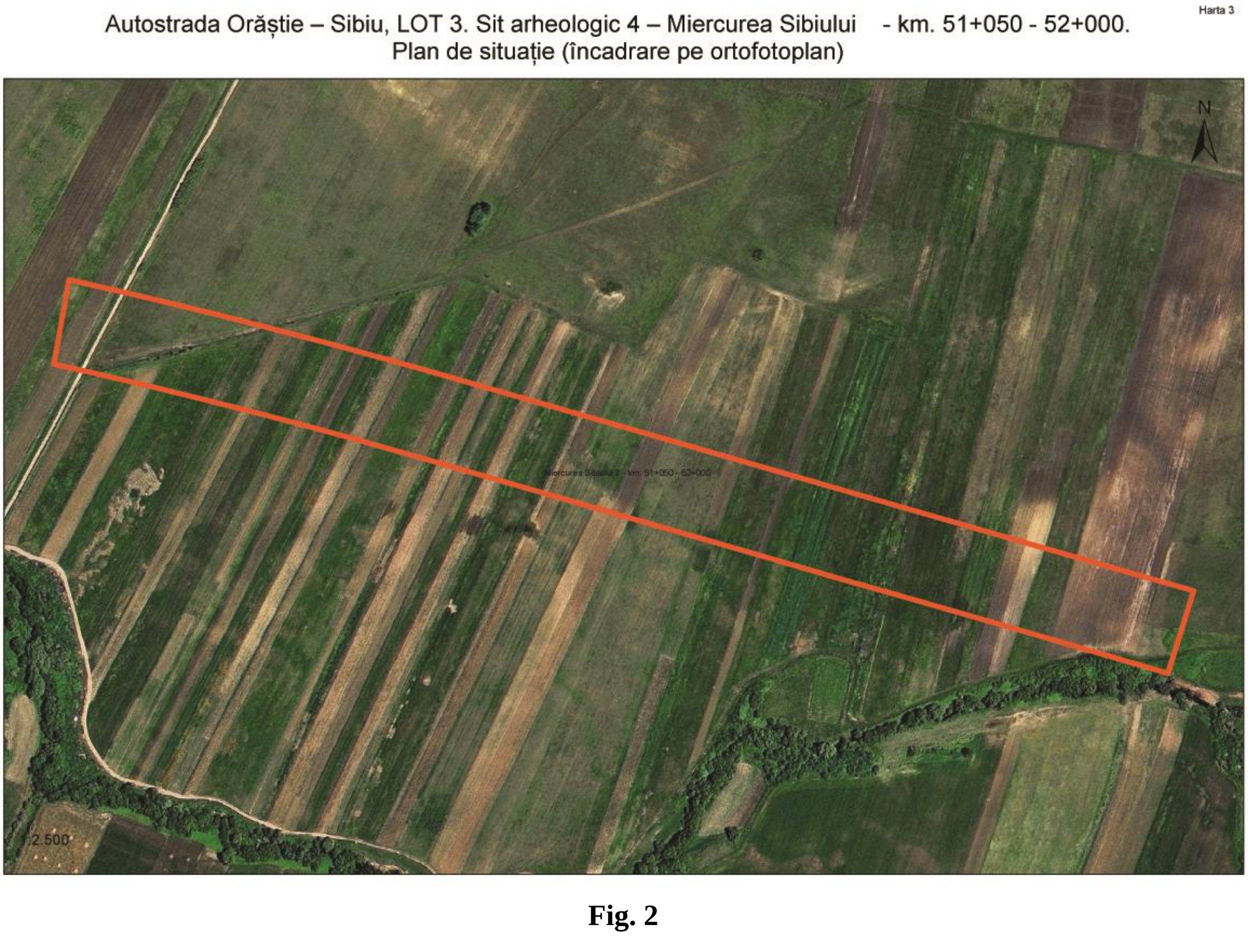

Fig. 2

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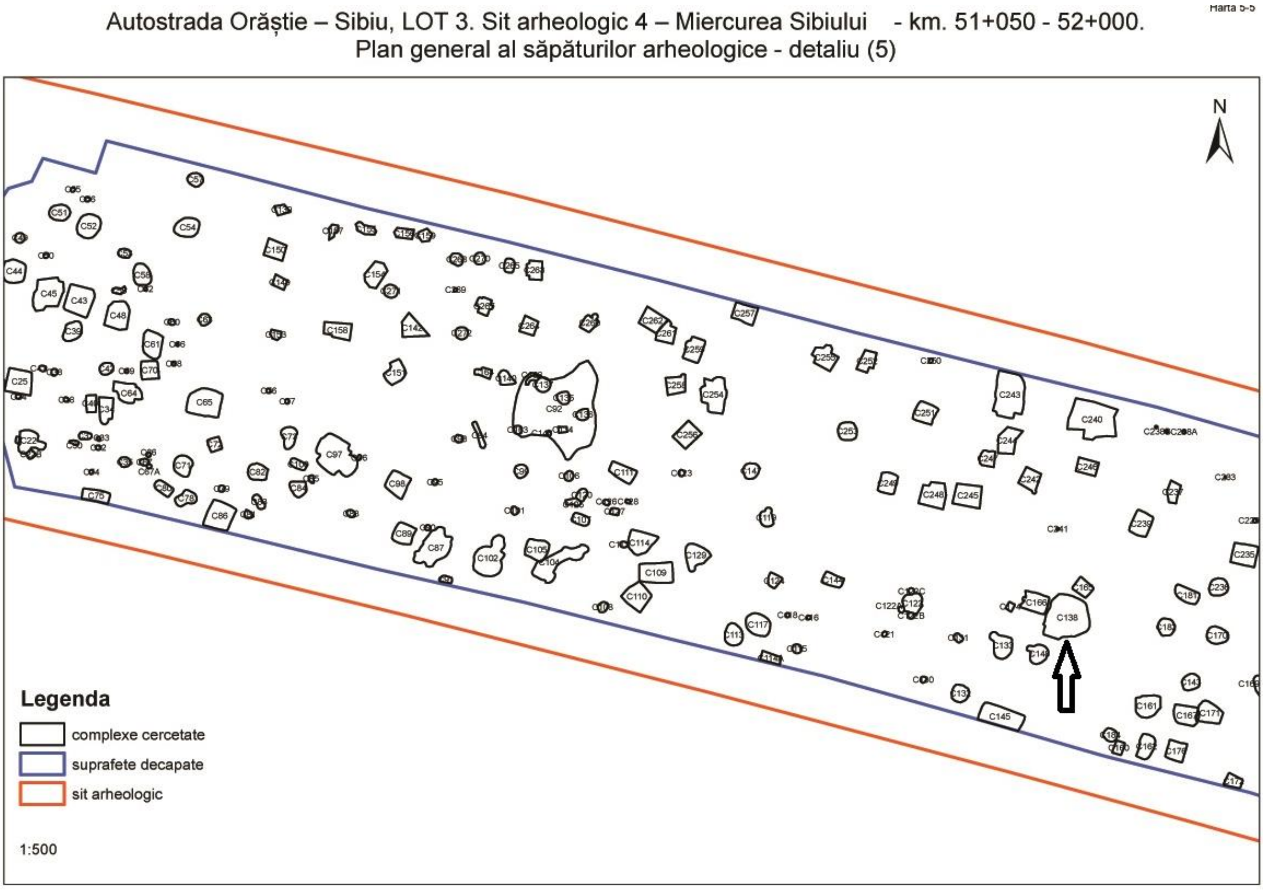

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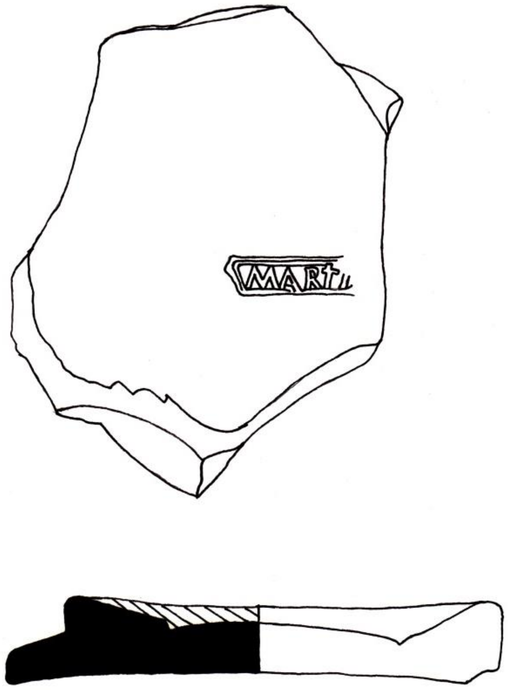

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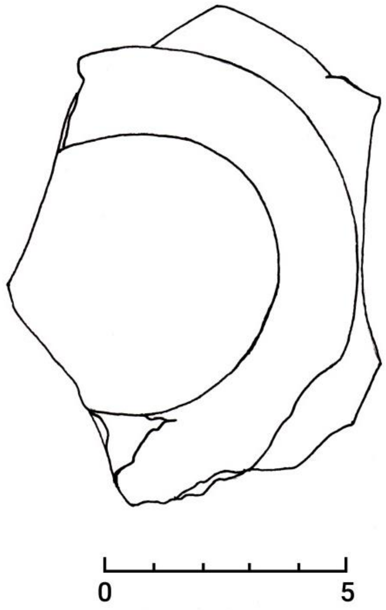

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Fig. 8

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Fig. 9

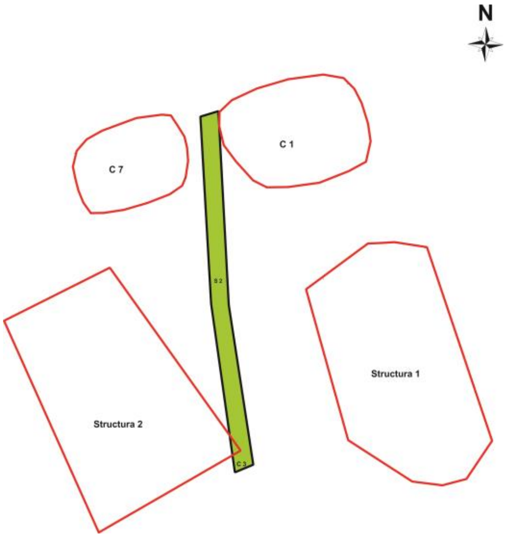

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

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Fig. 12

Fig. 13

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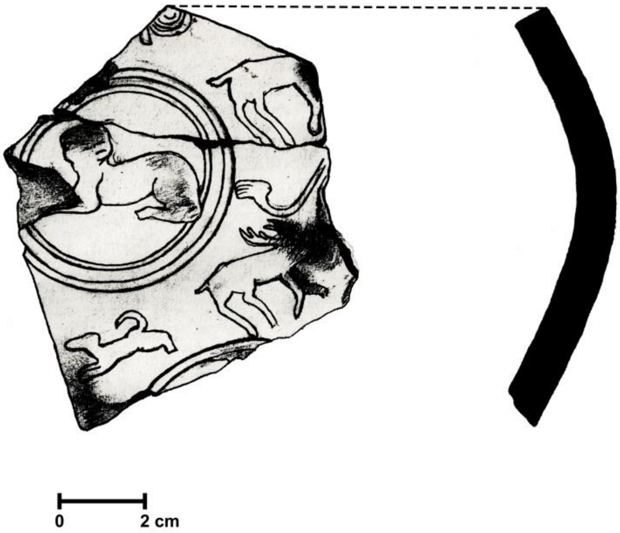

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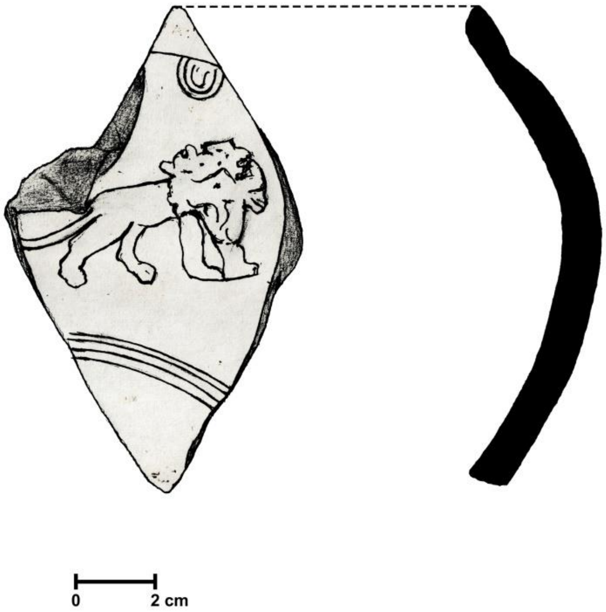

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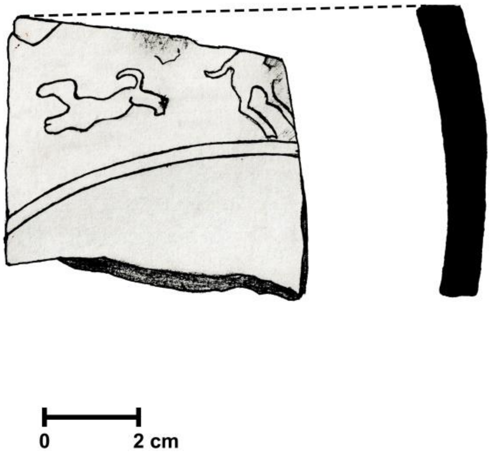

Fig. 16

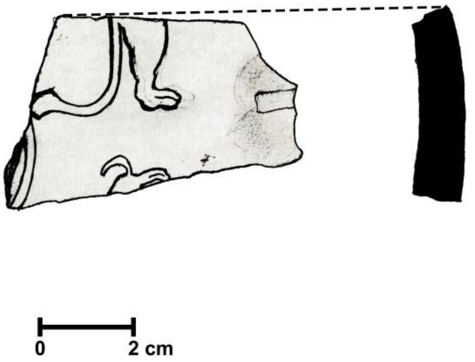

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

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THE PORTFOLIO OF OLD MAPS “VERSCHIEDENE KARTEN” IN THE CARTOGRAPHIC CABINET

Radu TEUCEANU *

Abstract: *This article is about a portfolio of mainly engraved maps of varied subject matter, mainly scientific, among which one can find, for example, geological maps. The maps are from the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries. They are both black and white and coloured. Several spectacular pieces are included. Most probably, these works arrived by way of donations. Carefully arranged, they could be promoted in order to raise the prestige of the museum and to make them more known to researchers.*
Keywords: *portfolio, maps, engravings, provinces, geological maps.*

Rezumat: *Articolul de faţă are ca subiect o mapă cu hărţi (în special gravate) cu profil variat, în principal ştiinţific: printre care putem găsi, de exemplu, hărţi geologice. Aceste hărţi datează din secolele XVII, XVIII şi XIX. Ele sunt atât simple (alb-negru) cât şi colorate. Mapa cuprinde şi o serie de piese spectaculoase. Cel mai probabil, aceste lucrări au ajuns în muzeu ca donaţii. Aranjate cu grijă, ele puteau fi promovate pentru a ridica prestigiul muzeului şi pentru a le face mai cunoscute cercetătorilor.*
Cuvinte cheie: *mapă, hărţi, gravuri, provincii istorice, hărţi geologice**.***

The Brukenthal Library is in possession of a highly interesting portfolio, thematically more varied than others in the cartographical cabinet.

Most of these maps are either an acquisition made by the baron Brukenthal, or later donations, largely from one or several 19th or 20th-century distinguished Transylvanian Saxon personalities.

Besides its eclectic subject matter, this portfolio is the largest in size (54,5 x 68 cm) among those in our possession and is made up of a half binding: two dark red to brown, marbled cardboard covers with hard dark green spine and corners, and all the maps are stuck to the back with glue. To ensure quick orientation, the title, written in German, is concise and beyond doubt – *Verschiedene Karten* (various maps), and is written in large and thin, gilt capital letters, made by cold pressing on the spine – a beautiful artistic effect obtained by the placing of this wording against the deep green, almost imitating the colours of a Christmas tree, or an Advent wreath. The shelf mark is No. 154, and the inventory numbers run from 970/H to 1029/H. The state of conservation of the sheets is excellent, a remarkable thing if we take into consideration the fact that the earliest date back from the 17th century.

A handwritten note in German, in black ink in lower part of the first page (where the table of contents is written, also in black ink), highlights the fact that “diese Aufstellung bezieht sich auch auf alle übrigen hier beigebundenen Karten” (in English: this list is concerned with all maps bound here).

The Romanian Principalities and Neighbouring Lands

One of the most important and interesting maps in this portfolio is, of course, the map of Walachia (ХАРТА ЦЪРІІ РОМЖНЕЩІ) (no. 36) (1008/H) (48 x 60 cm), made by Fr. Wannbaum (who is also known as Valbaum) sometime between 1833 and 1844; this map includes a great number of toponyms, yet many are erroneously placed (Popescu-Spineni 1978, 230). Only the frontier and the county limits are coloured, the first in a light blue thin stripe, and the latter, in thin red lines. As to Moldavia, one can find the first sheet (until 1526) of a chronological table of the principality, drawn up by Gheorghe Asachi and printed in Iaşi in 1842, accompanied by a small square map by P. Antoni, also made in 1842.

The second map (no. 4) (973/H) (47,5 x 62 cm) is an anonymous map of the territories held by the Ottoman Empire in Asia, published in 1807 in Vienna (*Die asiatische Türkey / Carte de l’Empire Ottoman en Asie*) by the Arts and Industry Office (*Comptoir*) Press („Im Verlage des Kunst und Industrie Comptoirs”); the French translation of the title is given, inside an oval medallion placed in the lower part of the map, on the location of the

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Syrian Desert. The author represented no less than five units of length: the geographical mile; the Persian farsang; the French league, which is shown to be identical to the Armenian farsang; the Arabic mile, and the Turkish berry. This is a black and white map, with the coloured outlines of the provinces.

The maps of the Kingdom of Hungary, printed in the precedent year, 1806, and in 1814, and by the Industry Office (*Comptoir*) as well (the 1814 map, though, in Budapest, and not in Vienna), are made in the same spirit. The 1806 map (no. 19) (988/H) (32,5 x 42,5 cm) is smaller and designated „for use in Austrian schools," and the engraver is not mentioned, unlike the 1814 map (no. 18) (987/H) (51,5 x 68,5 cm), which has got a stately appearance and was engraved by Anton Amon. The latter map can be a later edition of a map first printed in Vienna in 1789, one year after Amon had made a map of Walachia, Moldavia, and Bessarabia, also printed in Vienna (Popescu-Spineni 1978, 192).

Another map of this kind, but larger and more beautiful as well, is that of the Kingdom of Hungary and its other lands (no. 7) (977/H) (53 x 75,5 cm), drawn and engraved by F[ranz] Reisser, who was born on October 3, 1771 and died in Vienna on July 2, 1836. Here, the outlines are thick, mellow, and brightly coloured – the border of Hungary is bright pink, those of Austria and Transylvania are bright light green, and the Ottoman dominions are bright yellow.

In this portfolio can be admired a perfectly preserved copy of the map of Transylvania, made in Amsterdam by Mercator in 1640 (no. 22) (993//H) (39 x 50 cm). It is only black and white, and the flowing waters stand out. The four cardinal points are figured (Septentrio/Meridies, Occidens/Oriens). A second, but smaller (no. 21) (35 x 44 cm), and simplified, copy can be found at 989/H, and it was also printed on a coarser kind of paper. This map forms actually part of the famous *Atlas sive Cosmographicæ mediationes de fabrica mundi et fabricati figura* or *Atlas minor*, edited by I. Hondius in Amsterdam in 1607, a work which appeared in dozens of editions in Latin, French, Dutch, German, English, and even Turkish. The maps are also accompanied by descriptions, at least in our case, where a complete geographical description is extant, also including numismatic references: "Transylvania is the most gifted land, with all kinds of riches and grain/wheat is abundant throughout in this area. Apart from the evidence from daily life, this thing is proven by that piece issued by Trajan, a coin on which Ceres is represented standing and holding Amalthea's horn in the right hand and in the left hand a plate on which *Abundantia Daciæ* is written. [...] What can I say about the matchless thoroughbred horses, which have an innate quick gallop, by alternately moving their legs." As for Sibiu, Mercator notes that "lying on a plain, no mountain prevents it from stretching out to offer a wonderful view. It is not much smaller than the Austrian Vienna, but, grace to the people's skill and its natural position it is much safer, because attacks by any army are difficult to launch, as they are hampered by the many fish ponds and pools" (Popescu-Spineni 1978, 134-135).

Hubert Iaillot is the author of *Atlas Nouveau* (1690), where one can also find maps of Eastern European polities, such as *Le Royaume de Hongrie et les Etats qui ont été unis a sa Couronne, Etats de l'Empire des Turqs en Europe*, and *Principauté de Transilvanie divisée en cinq Nations, subdivisée en Quartiers et Comtez* (Popescu-Spineni 1978, 159).

A smaller, but interesting and beautiful map, which was made by Benjamin Barbenius, is that of the plague in Burzenland (the German name of Ţara Bârsei (there is nowadays even a magazine bearing this name) the intermountain depression where the city Braşov lies), which broke out in early October 1786 (no. 25) (996/H) (27 x 37 cm) (*Prœclusions-Plan bey der ... Pest-Seuche*). The rivers are figured in dark blue vein-like conventional Baroque forms, and the roads, in dark ochre lines. The title is included into a rectangle, imitating an inscriptioned stone plate, surmounted by the imperial double-headed eagle, whereas the legend, named here "Explanation" (in German: *Erklærung*) is handwritten in black ink within a long rectangle, represented as a notifying paper fastened against a wooden board by means of four nails with big heads painted bright red, a style of ornamentation which Barbenius enjoyed. He wrote: „Gelb illuminiert ist der inficirte Theil in den 3 Ortschaften Zeyden, Rosenau und Hollbach. Praeclusions Wacht-Hütten Cordons-Hütten. N. ibid 3 die Szukodoller Kalliben. N. 4-9 Tertzburger Kalliben observiren. N. 10-19 decken alle Strassen und Fuszsteige des Sinkaer Thals von Seiten Burtzenlandes, und verden insgesamt von 1ten Wallach Grentz Infant: Regiment besorgt. N. 20. und 21. vird vom Orozischen Inf: Reg: besorget, und deket die Strassen nach Hollbach. N. 22. und 23. vom 1ten Wall: Grentz: Inf: Reg: zur Verhinderung der Communication zvischen Zeyden und Szunyogszeg N. 24-26.

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Drey Piqvet von Orosz zur Sicherheit der Hauptlandstrassen von Cronstadt nach Fogaras. N. 27-29. 3 Piqvettes zur Sicherheit der Strassen nach Reps. Vom 2ten Szekl: Reg. N. 30. 31. vom 1ten Vall: Inf: Reg. N. 32-34. Durch Orosz Inf:" In this case, he chose to sign himself in French: „fait par J. B. Barbenius. Doct. en Medecin." The following map, of the village Holbav (in German: *Hollbach*) (no. 25) (997/H) (16 x 21,5 cm), is not signed, but it was obviously been drawn by the same Barbenius. Indeed, he was a Saxon doctor from Braşov, a scholar with advanced views, who pursued his career in Făgăraş and Trei Scaune (eastern and southern Transylvania). He brought his contribution in the establishing of the Covasna spas and wrote in 1792 a book on the mineral waters of Trei Scaune. His thesis *Dissertatio de haemorrhoidibus vesicœ,* printed in Trnava in 1777, is a remarkable one, but the medical topography of Burzenland, which remained in manuscript, is also important. His fame extended beyond the Carpathians, and Moldavian and Walachian boyars would come to Braşov to ask for his help. He was even called to Bucharest on one occasion. But his lifetime passion may have been the struggle against plague, as he met death during another epidemic, in February 1814 (Predescu 1940, 79).

The portfolio also contains two small (22 x 29 cm), but beautiful and rich in details, maps (991/H and 992/H) of Hungarian counties, the Vas, located in southern Hungary (drawn by Josef Kenedics) („Per Jos. Kenedics Jur. Geom.") and Szalad (drawn by Joan. Tomasich) ("Juxta Del. Joan. Tomasich Ord. Geom."), which lay west of Lake Balaton (Comitatus Castriferrei and Comitatus Szaladiensis). The Hungarian mile was used, alongside with the German one. Both maps are dedicated to the count (Grof) György Festetits (Festetics de Tolna) (January 1, 1754-April 2, 1819). After having put an end to his career in the army, this nobleman gave himself up to managing his extensive estates. In 1798 he set up in Keszthely the Georgikon, an agricultural establishment, to which a few schools and a hospital belonged. Four years later, in 1802, he offered the Reichstag (Imperial Diet) 40,000 florins in order to set up a military academy in Hungary. He was also a secret adviser and a corresponding member of the Scientific Society of Göttingen (*** 1903, 1008-1009). In 1814 he began to organize the cultural feasts called "Helikon" (Helikoni ünnepek), where he would invite all important scholars, poets, and agronomists of the age (Diaconovich 1900, 406). As to the maps themselves, which were engraved by the Viennese L. Benedicti, the authors managed to represent borders, landforms, but only discreetly in the second map, flowing waters, settlements, and roads. Both maps have got rounded corners and were stuck using glue, one next to the other, on the same sheet of thick beige paper, having been registered under the numbers 20a and 20b. As for their aspect, they are dominated by a profusion of place names written in beautiful small italics, but also of the landforms in light grey, everything against the blank background of the paper, as there are only coloured outlines, so that the engravers finally obtained, although on a very small scale, something akin to a 'symphony of writing.' In a sense, the aesthetic aspect of these small maps anticipated the postcards, which were to be produced a few decades later, in Austria and in Victorian England. Szalad is described by C. Diaconovich in 1904 as follows: "a marshy plain, with man-made canals cutting across it, in the south and a hilly area in the north. […] The soil is fertile, but vineyard is also grown, besides the usual cereals. […] There are entire settlements that rely on beekeeping. Trade is only developped in towns" (Diaconovich 1904, III, 1262).

Geological Maps

The first map is a geological map of the Donetz coal basin, but iron and lead mines are also shown (*Carte géologique de la chaine carbonifère du Donetz et de ses huit groupes de houillères*) (no. 1) (970/H) ((58 x 87). The scale is 1: 424478. This is a work of the chief mining engineer of France, Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882), who was also a sociologist and an economist, and, who, according to the caption, made travels of exploration between 1837 and 1839. Engraved in Paris by Pierre Tardieu, it is a large and finely, minutely drawn map, containing settlements, flowing waters, and roads. The map was published under the auspices of Prince Demidoff, whose probings from the same, 1837-1839 period, are also shown, by a grey circle. No less than eight types of soils are represented, each with its own colour: recently drawn; fresh-water; soils of the Pontic steppe; Upper Cretacic; Lower Cretacic; gyps and salty marnas of Bakhmouth; coal fields, and crystalline soils. As to coal itself, I quote: "outcrop of an earthen coal layer. The direction, gradient, and side of the layer plunging are shown by means of the same notation used for any other rock. The Roman letter added beside

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every outcrop is used to characterize this layer in the General Tableau of the Coal Ores." Particularly interesting are the three types of roads represented in this map. The first are post roads, followed by "the main roads used by convoys of wagons pulled by oxen, for carrying agricultural stuff;" the third type are the "paths seldom beaten." The Cossack term for "village," namely *stanitsa*, is given, to reinforce the local colour and authenticity. The two units of measure for length, the Western kilometer and the Russian *versta*, nearly equal, are also represented, as two lines of 50 of each unit. Two small maps are also included, in the upper and lower right.

From 1829 on, Le Play had taken advantage of a schooling mission in the North German massif of Harz to study on spot, together with his friend and comrade Jean Reynaud, the condition of workers and peasants in that area. He came to be persuaded that one could identify the rules according to whom human societies could be organized. That could be done, in his opinion, by carefully examining and comparing institutions and customs, and he decided to explore all countries in Europe one after the other. One year before his death, he published the work of his life, *La Constitution essentielle de l'humanité.* Le Play, who was the founder of "the school of social peace," gave the method the precision and dimension that had not existed before. He sets out from the principle that natural, immutable laws exist for human societies, as for the animal ones, and that the happiness of individuals, as well as that of communities, depends on these laws. A nation must be prosperous or miserable depending on whether it observes these laws or, on the contrary, ignores them; it is from there that a criterion for assessing the value of the social organization of a particular nation develops. The cornerstone is the family. Religion, which Le Play does not see as being inconsistent with science, is the only force able to guarantee social order; among the various religions, Christianity has got a marked superiority in this scope, but it has to be both independent and tolerant, making separation of state and church compulsory. Le Play's doctrine is thus quite a peculiar mixture of ancient outlooks and modern views; it implies the subordination of interests to morals and a return to some of the usages of the Middle Ages, yet entailing a great amount of tolerance and liberalism, which led the historian Siméon Luce, a contemporary, to choose the title *Le Play, la vieille France, l'Ecole des Chartes et la Société d'Economie sociale* for one of his works. During his lifetime, Le Play had such various pursuits, having as results such works appeared in print as *Observations sur l'histoire naturelle et la richesse minérale de l'Espagne* (Paris, 1834, in-8), *Vues générales sur la statistique* (Paris, 1840, in-8), *Album de l'Exposition universelle* (Paris, 1856; together with the baron Brisse), and others (Sagnet 1886-1902, 57-59).

The second map, that of Crimea, and which is bound in two copies (no. 2-3) (971-972/H) (60,5 x 92 cm), is also engraved in Paris by Pierre Tardieu, but this time drawn by J. J. N. Huot, in order to be included in Prince Demidoff's travel book. Although this map has got the caption "An Explanation of the Colours," but one can see that its colouring was actually left at the good will of the buyer. The numbering of the rock layers, which are no less than twelve, is carried out in the descending manner, to show the newest layer first (12th are the pseudo-volcanos, and 11th, Plutonic rocks, both grouped into the category of 'pyroid soil,' a term which I may suppose that the authors used or coined for something akin to the Campi Phlegraei near Naples in southern Italy. Indeed, the year when Hamilton's work, 1776, appeared in print, was not very distant past. On the second copy, the former owner chose only to emphasize the main roads by means of red lines, whereas on the first copy, the owner wanted to achieve the appearance of a full-fledged geologic map, within which each layer has got its own colour. In fact, most of the Crimean peninsula is rendered to consist of the "upper floor" of the supra-Cretaceous soil, represented here in beautiful very light ochre, pleasantly juxtaposed to by light yellow. The features of human geography of this map are interesting: hamlets of less than five houses; hamlets of 5 to 20 houses; villages of 20 or more houses; former hamlets, uninhabited at that time (the aouls, namely old Tatar settlements ?); churches, monasteries, mosques, lighthouses, landing stages for ships, windmills, watermills, and military redoubts.

Pierre Tardieu must be Pierre Antoine (from the French family of engravers Tardieu, there were also Pierre Alexandre (1756-1844) and Pierre François (1711-1771); the engraver here was the son of Antoine François Tardieu (1757-1822)). He often signed Pierre François and took the title of engraver-geographer (*graveur-géographe*) (*** 1999, 13, 472-473).

Two copies of another geological map, this time of Crimea, are made by Prince Demidoff himself

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and were also published in Paris, in 1841; the scale is 1: 424 470.

Other geological maps in this portfolio are the geognostical map of the surroundings of Vienna, made by Johann Baptist Cžjžek (*Geognostische Karte der Umgebungen Wien’s*) (no. 5) (974/H) (53,5 x 79,5 cm), with no time reference. Other areas belonging to the Habsburg Empire had been approached: a geological map of the Tatra range (*Carte géologique de la chaine du Tatra et des soulèvemens parallelles*), a geognostical map of the Vorarlberg and a mountain geological section of the same area – both published in Vienna in 1839-1841; the other areas formed part of Transylvania (Roşia Montană, Zlatna, Baia de Arieş, Abrud, and Rodna).

“A distinguishing feature in Abraham Gottlob Werner’s teaching within the Freiburg School of Mining, between 1775 and his death in 1817, was the care with which he taught the study of rocks and minerals and the orderly succession of geological formations, a subject that he called geognosy” (*** 1994, 12, 583). Shortly thereafter, between the 1830s and 1860s the so-called geognostical maps are created, that is, a combination between those for mine exploitation and the geological ones (Wollmann 1973, 189).

The geognostical map of the surroundings of Vienna is a spectacular one: large, minutely drawn, beautiful in appearance (it is dominated by yellow, green, and light brown), and, besides, well preserved; as to its style, it has much in common with Schweickhardt’s topography, although it is more recent, because it already shows the Emperor Ferdinand Northern Railway, the Vienna-Glocknitz Railway, and a third line, an unnamed one, heading towards the northeast. Constant von Wurzbach mentions this map as ensuring its author a well-deserved prestige, calling it “a map carried out with admirable diligence.” In the legend, which is placed in the lower part of the sheet, Czizek is mentioned as being employed in the Imperial Monetary and Mining Office. Born in Bohemia in 1806, Czizek rose in the geologists’ ranks to becoming in 1840 a counting official within the afore-mentioned Imperial Office. From 1839 on, he was sent by the Imperial Steam Navigation Society in voyages having the purpose of searching for bituminous coal, a task that he carried out brilliantly. He made geognostical explorations every summer, regardless of the obstacles posed by the weather. For example, in the summer of 1851 he explored Lower Austria south of the Danube to Mariazell in Steyermark and from the meridian of Mölk and Mariazell to the Neusiedl Lake; two years later, he was commissioned to explore the southern part of Bohemia. Unfortunately, Czizek died prematurely from heart failure in 1855 near Vienna, where he had gone to regain his health (Wurzbach 1858, 3, 114-116). The map itself is framed by three “ideal sections following the lines” A B, C D, and E F, with four types of surveying. The main landmark of this map is, of course, the Danube, whose course forms a large S-shape meander. The author chose to represent both kinds of villages – with and without a church, castles, ruins, cloisters, inns, hunting houses, mills, brick and chalk ovens, chapels, crosses, graveyards, warning panels, road markings, post stations, spas, bridges, and landing places for steam ships. The rocks shown are 18 in number, and their typology is interesting: pebble, sand, and alluvial loam brought by the Danube; erratic granite blocks; traces of black coal (anthracite).

The geological map of the Tatra range (no. 6)(975/H) (50 x 77 cm), published in Berlin in 1844, the work of the professor Ludwik Zejszner (Zeuschner) (1805-1871) of Krakow, is large-sized and written in French. The author and year of publishing are not mentioned. Historically, it is important for Slovakia, as the names are first given in Slovak – even though the spelling is influenced by German and Hungarian – followed by the German name in brackets, which is very unusual for the period. I can give as examples Zwolen (Altsohl), Lewocza (Leutschau), Bardjow (Bartfeld), Preszow (Eperies), Koszyce (Kaschau). More, smaller settlements and the rivers are given only in Slovak (the rivers Hron and Poprad). The author must have been ignorant of the fact that Ružomberok had long been Slovakized, as he puts only the German name of the town, Rosenberg. As to geology itself, no less than 25 types of rocks are illustrated, although alpine limestone (marked in light blue) and Carpathian grit stone (marked by using very light pink) prevail. There are four limestone veins with ammonites (marked in dark blue), the largest of which lying in the northeastern quarter and having got a long, thin, winding shape. Alpine limestone, with small towers conspicuous on mountain slopes, but also waterfalls on travertine rocks, forms part of the typical sight of the Slovak countryside, often dotted with wooden houses with their shingle roofs, dark brown in colour (Šlachta, Rezník 1992, images 82, 89, 93, 107, 131, 132, 138, and 141).

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The bilingual (Hungarian/German) geological map of Liptau County (no. 7) (976/H) (44 x 67 cm) is a later one, being published in Pest in 1873 by Adalbert von Majlath, upper notary of the county, who "made and dedicated it to the county board." It was stuck with glue in the middle of a thick paper sheet light grey-ochre in colour and full of statistical tables, arranged clockwise and numbered from I to XLIV, having thus got a stately, official, appearance due to several features: it imitates an oil painting by the fact that it has a frame made up of five black rectangles, the coat of arms of the county is placed in the upper left corner, and the titles, which are written in four different styles (capitals, habitual writing, and italics) are separated by a decorative motif resembling a cross. It is an ambitious map, as, besides the geological subject matter, the author wanted to represent the divisions of 'administration, justice, elections, military, church diocese, taxation, health facilities, transport, and police.' The 44 tables which surround the map range from general to particular aspects, that is, from the geographical situation (I), surfaces (II), rocks (III), fauna (IV), to meteorological measurements (VIII), mineral waters (IX), mountain industries (XVIII), markets (XXI), associations (XXII), 'Manipulations-Budget' (XXXI), university diploma holders (XXXII), police (XXXV), firemen ('Feuer-Polizei') (XXXVI), degree of literacy (XXXVIII). The police section is of particular interest for Romanians, as there are four categories, Sicherheits-Commissäre (2 in number), while all the rest are 'Panduren': Panduren-Korporäle (3 in number), Panduren zu Pferd (2 in number), and Panduren zu Fuss (12 in number). Liptau is described by C. Diaconovich in 1904 as "the most mountainous county of Hungary. […] A great number of mineral springs [can be found] […] [and] the climate is harsh; the most beautiful season of the year is the autumn. As to minerals, one can find gold, silver, copper, and antimonium, but mining is not particularly flourishing. […] Among agricultural products I can mention potatoes, barley, hemp, and line, whereas the climate is not suitable to wheat and rye. […] Liptau has been inhabited since times out of mind, as a proof being pagan walled cities, Stone and Bronze Age colonies, and cemeteries of ancient times" (Diaconovich 1904, III, 111).

The mining engineer A. R. Schmidt is the author of a large-sized geognostical map of Vorarlberg (no. 9) (978/H) (58 x 88,5 cm) and the geognostical section of the mountains of the same area (no. 10) (979/H) (57,5 x 90 cm); both maps are the result of the author's work in that area in the years 1839-1841. In the first map limestone prevails, which is shown by using blue, like in Professor Zejszner's map. The second map is divided into two linear sections (the eastern and western part of the province), placed in the upper part, whereas most of the map is occupied by the images of the particular areas which had been studied. This was done by a tabular division, which can also be likened to boxes equal in size, inside which stuff drawn from the ground has been stored. Overall, it is a valuable and ambitious enterprise, which had resulted into no less than twelve types of rocks being identified. Thick limestone prevails nonetheless, and dominated the entire picture with the pleasant hue of light green which the author had chosen for it. The rectangles are in turn subdivided, both vertically and horizontally (such as in Kesselbachthal: Durchschnitt and Kesselbachthal: Profil). The rock formations which resemble thick defence walls, their almost perfect symmetrical form and the bright reddish colour (by which gyps is symbolized) of the left half and the light green of the right half, divided by a stockwork that ends in a sharp point, all give a fairy-tale appearance to the geological section of Krinajoch, between Lake Lüne and Rellstal (Rell Valley).

By mining cartography is meant the drawing up of maps of mines (in German: *Grubenkarten*) or drawings (in German: *Grubenrisse*), both in area and in depth, on the base of topographical surveys. In the past, such cartographical documents have only occasionally been mentioned in geological literature and very seldom in the historical one, and have almost completely been overlooked as auxiliary information sources (Wollmann 1973, 187).

The extension of mining, both in area and in depth, with the purpose of finding new mineral resources, depended on some notions of mining topography – besides the development of the technique itself. Only in April 1770, according to the imperial decree for the setting up of the Mountain Academy of Schemnitz, mining topography (in German: *Markscheidekunst*) became a compulsory matter in the third year of studies. Here studied the future topographical probationers (in German: *Markscheider*) who would then work for all mining places of the empire, and their names are known either from the Academy rolls, either from the maps that they

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made up. The making of mining maps requests extended knowledge of geometry, trigonometry, and drawing, but also special technical equipment. Very few 18th-century topographical devices have survived, and some of them are known only from treaties or the illustration of some maps. For example, a frequently used device for the indirect measurement of distances and for surveying is the stadia or the surveyor's pole, which is represented on a 1778 map. Drawing boards, levelling instruments, brass rulers, set squares, and compasses were also used. Sometimes a beautiful stellate rosette, pointing to the geographic azimuth, is added (Wollmann 1971, 213-214). The measurements and drawing were usually made on spot. If, at the beginning, the topographical engineer made the measurements by himself and put them down on the map, later, from the 1740s on, he would be helped in the latter task. In the 1746 map of the copper mine Simon and Judas one can also encounter, beside the topographical expert Johann Pekh, a certain Zins (?), who would draw the lines (delin[iert] Zins), who must have made the conventional signs and the other topographical and decorative items. In order to produce a map, a series of helpful documents were used, some of which accompany the maps: an example is a notebook used on spot (in German technical language, called *Zugbüchel*), sketches, and separate drawings (in German: *separate Risse*) (Wollmann 1975, 177). From the 1730s on, the first orders to standardize measurement systems were issued, at least for the same mining area. Nearly all measurements were made in fathoms, which differ little in the mining areas, for example in Vienna and Schemnitz (Banská-Štiavnča), and elsewhere. [...] Until the 19th century the raw material for mining maps was exclusively paper, which was usually being imported from the Netherlands, and more seldom from France (Wollmann 1973, 188-189).

The maps concerning Austria and Slovakia seem to have been placed as a kind of imperial antechamber to seven anonymous geognostical maps of mining areas in Transylvania, which are put together: the *Vöröspatak* (no. 24a) (995/H) (27.5 x 36 cm), *Zalathnaer Berg-Revier* (no. 27) (999/H) (40 x 61,5 cm), the *Nagyáger* (Săcărâmb) *Revier* (no. 28) (1000/H) (21 x 21,5 cm), the *Kis Banyaer Berg Revier* (Boica) (no. 29) (1001/H) (43 x 63,5 cm), the *Abrudbanyaer Berg Revier* (no. 32) (1004/H) (34 x 51 cm), the *Rodnauer Bergrevier* (no. 33) (1005/H) (12 x 14,5 cm), the *Offenbanya* (Baia de Arieş) mine (no. 31) (1003/H) (21,5 x 25,5 cm), and a geognostical-topographical map of Zarand county (no. 30) (1002/H) (34,5 x 51 cm). The first, made by J. Kibler, is much less spectacular, being only black and white, actually a dark grey; the landforms and flowing waters, but also small details which appear to be huts, are scrupulously represented. The maps of Săcărâmb, Baia de Arieş, Abrud, Rodna, but also that of Zarand county are sheets of paper skillfully stuck with glue at the center of the large thick sheets of light beige paper of which this portfolio is made up, with the aesthetic desire of creating an appearance of framed paintings. They are all drawn in ferro-gallic ink, with coloured areas representing minerals; flowing waters and settlements are represented, and much use is made of arrows, always drawn in black ink. In each of these maps a straight line is added as a conventional sign, representing the length of either 400 or 4,000 Viennese fathoms. By contrast, the maps of Zlatna and Boica are left untouched; they are larger, similar in size, and drawn by the same hand. The author opted for a large size (the length measure is 4,000 Viennese fathoms) and made use in both maps of a long arrow to point to the north. In both maps, settlements are shown by means of scarlet circles. In the second map, the author chose to represent two profiles (a horizontal one, AB, and a vertical one, DC), so that the map is actually divided into four large rectangles (the upper left one, which is almost a square in form, is, of course, dedicated to the title, written in an artful manner: the word „KARTE" in capitals made up by using individual bricks, and *Berg Revier* by using branches of fir trees, all of these for the sake of the local colour). Within the map of Zarand, the same „KARTE" is written in capital letters formed by branches of oak or birch tree, including foliage, whereas within the map of the Abrud mine, the capitals of „KARTE" are made up by using pieces taken out of compact, smooth brick walls. In spite of its small size, the map of Baia de Arieş is the most interesting in this series. As in the case of Boica, it includes the same kind of two geological sections, thus dividing the whole space into three rectangles. The author wanted to represent roads and bridges, but also individual houses, by means of small black rectangles, and for the foundries the colour scarlet was chosen. The types of rock, figured by different colours, are separated by frontier-like dark pink lines, very much alike those left by a modern felt pen. The compass point is the south, both cardinal points being written in the old patriarchal German fashion (*Mittag* for

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south and *Mitternacht* for north – compare with the Romanian *miazăzi* and *miazănoapte*).

The mineralogist Fridvalszky graphically depicts the manner in which work was done at Roşia Montană during the 18th century: "The local Romanians break the rocks into pieces, by boring and scraping them from all sides. One could believe that a whole army of choppers has gathered to level the mountains. They do not limit themselves to piercing the ground and the stone by means of iron tools, but shake the mountains with thunders and gunpowder; we witnessed for a whole hour the ceaseless roar and explosions. Mines in which one is working today are abandoned shortly after. They are subject to no law, only their wish leads them to where greater earnings are promised." In 1818, the miner Petru Furdui published a 10-page pamphlet, *Versul Cotroanţei;* during a visit to Transylvania in 1867, Bogdan Petriceicu Hasdeu came across a copy and published it in the magazine Columna lui Traian. Hasdeu added that "the verses extol the Cotroanța (a gold mine), the boons of mining, and the stampers' life." The Cotroanţa stockwork is the most important ore body in Roşia Montană. The Abrud-Roşia fund was set up in 1790, and it also provided aids for the keeping of the lakes, ponds, canals, and roads leading to the mines (Sîntimbrean, Bedelean 2009, 34-38).

The historian Virgil Șotropa (1867-1954) transcribed a minute kept by the Rodna executive board, beginning on May 20, 1731, when "miners, washers, and supplies arrived from Banat, in order to increase efficiency. Because of the bad weather, nothing could be done in the gallery Geczi for the last few days. Yet now one must work post-haste, and also in the Hoffnung, St. Peter, and in the new gallery, which also the inspector De-Jean von Hausen had visited. Both Slovak washers and miners will work in different places, and in the foundries the lead taken out of the quarries must be mixed with the washed one, just as Mr. Hotzeldorfer from Bistritz required. Here and there the carpenters will have to work too. (June 3) The well-working saw is remembered of. Hasky Istok must make wheelbarrows. [...] (June 24) Master Lamberger arrived from Banat to inspect the mines, and together with him a Slovak coal miner/pitman, with whom an agreement must be made. Hungarian miners and 23 litharge *măji* (at least 50 kg) are being talked about. (July 7) The silver extracted must be shipped to Alba Iulia for finer processing. (August 5) In the gallery St. Peter, in the left side only metal very mixed with blende can be extracted, so that this work must be stopped. As the Slovak miners have been quite lazy, one of them, Andrei Stoltitzky, has promised that he would have them work harder. (August 19) The 'Walachian' carpenter is mentioned. (August 26) In all galleries one must strive against the flooding water. […] If work in the galleries Ioan, Hoffnung, and Geczi is resumed […] a yearly supply of 700 pails of cereals will be necessary, out of which half must be stored in the house of the assistant of surgeon from Bistritz, and the other half should be shipped to Rodna. The delivery to Rodna will have to be made by Mr. Szendrei, the steward of the Apafi fiscal demesnes, but care should be taken at the fact that the serfs waggoners cannot be kept away from work for too long. One must try and win as much metal as possible from ore, and that is why it is necessary that all assays must be made." 19 maps and plans were extant in the archives of the Rodna mines in 1858, and the first mentioned is a "site plan (*Situation plan*) of the Rodna mountainous area, drawn by the probationer-controller Ioan Méhes in 1796." The map was copied in 1800 by Ferenc Zelenkai and scaled by Lajos Borsai in 1814. Last mentioned is the "map of a forest, without indication of the author." In an extract from the minute drawn up in November 1789 one can find out that more workers were needed, but the answer of those invited to come was that it was impossible for them to arrive on horseback in winter because of the snow which had cut off the whole area. Five years later, in 1794, the miners were 72 in number (Şotropa 1928, 5-49 *passim*). Because of its small size, in my opinion the anonymous Rodna map in our portfolio is no other than the 1814 scaled one, a manuscript copy of it. From the aesthetic point of view, it has the appearance of a miniature, an effect ensured by the mellow pink which is its background, and on which beautiful light blue spots are sprinkled, perhaps with the purpose of imitating mother-of-pearl.

Other maps

The geological maps are followed by six old maps of the Netherlands and Belgium, of which particularly interesting are the first, one made by Peter Schenk in Amsterdam in 1707, showing the provinces and main cities (no. 11) (980/H) (47,5 x 54,5 cm), and the last, one of Ducatus Geldriae (no. 16) (985/H) (50 x 58,5 cm), made under the supervision of Matthias III Seutter, a drawer, copper engraver, „Kaiserlicher Geograph und Kunstverleger" (1678-1757). He was a pupil of J.

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B. Homann in Nuremberg. He ran in Augsburg a publishing house of (mostly coloured) land maps, plans, and *vedutas* (***, 30. Band, 542).

Schenk's map includes a small map of the Netherlands and Belgium in the upper left corner, the rest having got the beautiful symmetrical form of a façade of an Italian Renaissance church and being an alternation of squares and rectangles, inside which the text written in italics is contained. These squares and rectangles are coloured in pink, yellow, and green; each province is accompanied by its coat of arms, also in a rectangle placed at the beginning, but is left uncoloured.

The rest of the maps of this area are all made by the Dutch engraver Jacobus (van) Harrewijn (spelled Harrewya), between 1703 and 1709, during the War of Spanish Succession, and all were left uncoloured. According to Piot, this artist was endowed with phantasy, and also possessed the charm of representations, but he suffered from lack of precision in his drawing. Among his many other productions he also made an overhead image and sketch of the Mainz cathedral, the Brussels Carthusian monastery, four prints in the 'Flandria illustrata' (Augsburg, 1732), one print in P. de Lesconvel's *Idée d'un règne doux et heureux* (1703), the fireworks in the Place du Sablon in Brussels to celebrate the conquest of Buda, *Accusatio et querela populi Belgici*, a medal portrait of Princess Anna von Croy, and perhaps a portrait of Pope Clement XI (Stern s.a., 55-57).

A unique map in the Brukenthal cartography cabinet is a historical one, published in 1878 by the Imperial Staff Press (Verlag des k.k. Generalstabs), of the battles fought by Austria in the modern era, the beginning having been chosen in the year 1495, when the Holy League against France was formed (no. 41) (1023/H) (56,5 x 69 cm). It is actually a map of Europe, only the main flowing and stagnant waters, and cities, being represented, most probably as geographical points of reference. This map is chromatically dominated by the contrast between the uniform deep blue, almost turquoise, of the seas, and the light pink of the area where the battles took place; it covers Central Europe and beyond it Belgium and Bosnia, most of Italy, Walachia, Denmark, and western Moldavia, as well as parts of eastern France, Spain, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. On mainland Europe, it seems that only Portugal, Greece, and Albania had been completely spared. Outside Europe, Austrian armies are shown to have been afield in small areas around Alger (in 1536), Tunis (1541), and, much later, in Lebanon (during the Oriental Crisis, in 1840). The stately frame of the map, coloured in brown, is filled by two U-shaped rows of white ribbons, on which the battles, accompanied by the date (day, month, and year), are written in black capital letters, and in chronological order. Each ribbon is decorated with the laurel leaves of victory, and the two rows meet at the middle of the upper part. In the middle point of the lower part, the year of publishing, 1878, can be found inside a triangle, and in the middle of the upper part, the imperial double-headed eagle is represented in a round medallion. This map has got such a proud, imposing, truly A.E.I.O.U. (the motto of the Habsburgs, *Austriæ est imperare orbi universo*) appearance, that it might be regarded as something almost akin to the official portrait of the sovereign. The explanation is published separately, as a leaflet, and is bound in this way in the portfolio, again a unique case in our library, as *A Statistical Review of the Wars Fought by Austria* (*Statistische Übersicht der Kampf Österreichs*) – one can remember here Le Play's academic pursuits; the old French engineer was still alive at that time, when, unfortunately, the relationship between the two countries, the French Third Republic and the Habsburg Empire, was not the ideal one.

The immense area which already formed part of another great empire of the age, Tsarist Russia, is represented in two large maps, both black and white: the first is a map taken out of Reichard's *Orbis terrarum antiquus*, published in Nuremberg in 1826 (no. 17) (986/H) (43,5 x 57) only the European part, and the second, the whole territory of the Russian Empire, a spectacular map drawn in St. Petersburg in 1734 by Ivan Kirilov (in Latin: Ioannes Kyrilow), *Imperii Russici tabula generalis* (no. 43) (1027/H) (57 x 92). Reichard's map deals with Antiquity (*Dacia Or[ientalis], Sarmatia, Caucasus, Scythia int[ra] Imaum*). The two main regions are European Sarmatia and "Sarmatia intra Imaum," that is, what is today European Russia – bordering on the Ural Mountains in the east. This map contains landforms, waters, and settlements, but, of course, most of the wording is found in the southwestern part, that is, round the Black Sea (Pontus Euxinus), in Dacia, and in Thrace, the rest being essentially a wilderness, sparsely inhabited areas of forest, marshes, steppe, and desert. "In the 1st century AD, Iranian-speaking Sarmatians took over the lordship of the westernmost regions of the steppe. They presented the Roman army with

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a new and formidable challenge along the Danube frontier, since at least some of the Sarmatian cavalrymen were armoured in the Parthian fashion. But such warriors were comparatively few in number, and their feudal polity made them unable to organize large-scale raids. As a result, the Roman limes held for another two centuries" (McNeill 1994, 28, 231). "The Sarmatians venerated a god of fire to whom they offered horses in sacrifice. [...] Sarmatian females, especially in the society's early years, took arms alongside men. Sarmatian female warriors may have inspired the Greek tales of the Amazons. [...] An outstanding specialty was the Sarmatian long sword, which featured a hilt of wood with gold lacing, topped with an agate or onyx knob. Sarmatian art was strongly geometric, floral, and richly coloured" (*** 1994, 10, 455). The second map sharply differs from most in this portfolio by its modernity, on the one hand the use of the azimuthal projection and on the other hand the representation of the meridians and parallels. The hills and mountains are only shown by means of rows of small triangles, thus ensuring a clear, airy appearance. From the North Pole, which is not explicitly named, a kind of immaculate alchemical sun, and radiating to the south, is represented, perhaps symbolically associated with the pristine purity of snow and ice, related in turn to albedo, the second stage of the alchemical *magnum opus.* The map has got two captions – one in Russian, in the upper left corner, and the other in Latin, in the upper right corner, and which is surmounted by the two-headed imperial eagle; the other two corners are occupied by allegorical compositions, the one in the left being centered around a decorative Baroque stone garden obelisk, also with the imperial eagle seated on top of it, with Hermes and Fama, whereas in the other are represented several men, belonging to different social layers and engaged in trade, more specifically, standing on a quay and being concerned with loading a boat. The caption in Russian includes, for the sake of authenticity and local colour, the carcass of a roedeer or reindeer with its antlers, shot dead by hunters, a quiver full of arrows, barrels, and a pair of skis, thus celebrating hunting and the exoticism of Siberia. In 1636, skis were shown on display in the German city of Worms, accompanied by instructions for their use (Matei 1982, 31). If the extreme north is occupied by the Oceanus Septentrionalis, the Russian Empire bordered in the south on a double row of foreign polities, whose names, even if non-European, are adapted and written in the Latin fashion, as *Imperium* or *Regnum: Astrachan Regnum, Aral Principatus, Dominium Chalmyccicum,* and *Niuckiae Regnum;* further to the south one can see the northernmost parts of the Asian empires: the Ottoman (*Imperii Turcici pars*), Persian (*Imperii Persici pars*), Mughal (*Imperii Mogolo-Indici pars*), Chinese (*Sinarum Imperium*), and Lamaist Tibet (*Tibet Regnum*). If the distant Korea, which was closed to foreigners at that time as well, is very correctly named, the Central Asian Turkmenia is misspelled as *Truchmenia.* Manchuria, the homeland of the incumbent Chinese dynasty Ch'ing, and traversed by Nicolae Milescu two generations before, is figured as *Tattaria Orientalis etiam sinensis dicta Leaotong.*

In this connection, man began to wander the paths at first untouched, then beaten by crowds of people, by many generations, ceaselessly looking inside and beyond himself, at rocky landscapes or limitless fields; the looks that he cast and his thoughts plunged into infinite space, until the truth began to loom, rich as it was, in everything around. In that moment the sheer 'geographical' peregrination stopped. The 'land seamen' went ashore. The mind distinguished some stable guiding marks, it felt the first 'grains of eternity' (Mircea 1980, 329). In our portfolio, a large, beautiful map of the East Indies, in German, is the work of I. C. M. Reinecke and was published by the Geographical Institute in Weimar in 1804 (*Map of the East Indies, ... and beyond the Ganges, according to the newest Astronomical Observations and Other Newly Developped Sure Helping Means*) (no. 38) (1010/H) (47 x 84 cm). This map has got an ochre frame and meridians and parallels were represented. Only northern and central India, Indochina, the island Celebes (Sulawesi), and a few islands near the Australian coast were coloured inside their outlines, the other territories, such as eastern and southern India, Ceylon, and the Philippines, being left only with a coloured outline. All features (mountains, rivers, and settlements) of other territories which are included within the map (the southwestern corner of Persia, Oman, as well as the southern half of the Chinese Empire) are also represented, but are left blank. In my opinion, these efforts are linked with the coalitions of European powers hostile to France, and with honouring Great Britain in particular by way of the stately, colourful representation of her most important area of influence at the time, India. This can be also seen in the length units used: the sea mile, the English mile, the Indian koss, the Chinese li, with the German mile coming last. In his travelogue, the

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poet Adalbert von Chamisso, who took part in a voyage round the world, wrote that when he reached Chile in February 1816, "the recent historical events, the battle of Waterloo and Napoleon's fall, were also known here, and in our presence they attributed the victory exclusively to the Russian armies. It was understandable for the Spaniards to honour the Allied flag and the captain who held it" (Chamisso 1989, 64). In this connection, an old map of London and its surroundings (*Carte des environs de Londres,* adapted in Paris in 1745 by the engineer Le Rouge after the English original)(998/H) is included in this portfolio. But the map of the East Indies can also be seen as a completion of Ivan Kirilov's map, this time for southern Asia, even if it was made two generations later. The Mughal Empire is not mentioned at all on this map, the Maratha lands being represented instead. Quaint names of island appear on this map, such as "Three Brothers" and "Seven Brothers", southwest of the Maldives Islands, Diego Garcia, Polvereira, "The Happy Insel", near the southwestern corner of Sumatra (in the Indian Ocean), "Two Brothers" (near the southeastern corner of Borneo), Pater Noster Islands (a chain of islands between Java and Sumatra). Near the right edge of the map, near the southwestern end of Ceram island, one can find the famous Amboina, whose fossils were studied by the Dutch naturalist Rumpf, and off the northern coast of Vietnam is represented "Nightingale Island." Ceylon is presented as "I. Ceylan oder Selendiva," a corrupt form of the old name *Serendeeb,* which appears in the *Arabian Nights.*

In his diary, James Brooke (1803-1868) described his visit to Sulawesi, and he wrote about a local nobleman that "he is […] of a melancholy countenance and grave demeanour. His dress was magnificent, composed of puce-coloured velvet, woven with gold flowers," and the visit he paid to a prince: "a painter might have been pleased with the scene of our meeting. The number of native boats, […] the dark foliage of the trees, and the flitting and screaming of cockatoos, unaccustomed to this invasion of their resorts – presented to the mind the picture of a distant and little-known land" (Kuhnt-Saptodewo 2010, 48, 57).

This kind of maps must have had their role in history, because, hung in headquarters of public institutions, in schools, or private houses both in cities and in the countryside, or reprinted as part of atlases, they kindled the imagination of children and teenagers, as it might have been the case of the Czech František Czurda (1844-1886), who, even though born in a landlocked country in Central Europe, assembled an extensive ethnographical collection after he settled in Indonesia, never to return (Kuhnt-Saptodewo/Pospíšilová 2010, 6). In his collection a folio of Achinese prayers, twenty-four old Achinese books, and four valuable Korans from the demolished temple in Achin could be found (Pospíšilová 2010, 34).

The crowning of this portfolio is the world map made by the German cartographer Hermann Berghaus, *General Map of the World in the Mercator Projection, Showing Postal Navigation and the Recent Voyages Round the World* (*Allgemeine Welt-Karte in Mercator's Projection zur Uebersicht der Postschiffahrt und neuerer Reisen um die Erde*) (no. 48) (1029/H) (59 x 74 cm), published in Gotha in 1864; it entered our library as assets from Ludwig Reissenberger on October 21, 1903. Hermann Berghaus (1828-1890) undertook extensive reading in geography and mathematics; his maps are characterized by the landforms rendered both precisely and artistically, and he did research in the purpose of using the most appropriate colours. For example, he gathered data on heights and published them in Behm's Geographisches Jahrbuch. In 1881, the geographers' meeting in Venice bestowed him a golden medal (Hantzsch 1902, 379-380). In my opinion, the Saxons of Sibiu saw, and rightfully, this map as a monument of 19th-century Positivism, and included it in this portfolio because of its scientific character, and in spite of its recent character, whereas the 72-sheet *Plaene* portfolio, which I studied some time ago (Teuceanu 2015), is made up of maps pertaining especially to military history – walled cities, fortifications, sieges, and battles, even if masterfully engraved.

One of the many examples are the routes of the scientific voyages of the Swedish and Austrian frigates Eugenie and respectively Novara, which had both taken place in the previous decade. Berghaus even parceled out these voyages according to their bearing (Eugenia went west, whereas Novara went east), and even their position is marked every five days. As one will see, the amount of data assembled by Berghaus is this map is surprising, also given the not very large size of the map, which became in this way an example, a landmark not enough taken into consideration nowadays as it deserves. The map also is of interest because it shows the situation in the world before both Panama and Suez canals.

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"The advent of the steamship and the railway had provided the opportunity for speedier international postal services, and the expansion of commerce ensured a growing demand for such facilities. Unfortunately, serious obstacles to the free exchanges of international mails existed. Postal relations between states were the subject of bilateral postal treaties that had multiplied alarmingly during the 19th century. Most large European states were party to at least of dozen treaties by the 1860s. Such treaties necessitated the maintenance of detailed accounts between the countries concerned. Owing to the bewildering variety of currencies and units of weight and measurement then in use, the accounts attained a complexity described by a contemporary postmaster general of the United States as "almost beyond belief." Understandably, the users of the post suffered from this chaotic situation and from the high international postage rates that were its natural result. The first practical step towards reform did not come until May 1863, when the delegates of 15 European and American postal administrations met at the Paris Postal Conference, convening at the suggestion of the U.S. postmaster general. The conference established important general principles for the simplification of procedures, which were adopted as a model for subsequent bilateral by for the countries concerned" (An.C.B./Ed. 1994, 1070). It is probable that this world map was made purposely to mark the Paris Postal Conference, which had taken place a year before.

The map is dominated by the contrast between land, coloured in light ochre, and ocean, in light blue. In three corners are placed small maps of the 'western land passage' and 'eastern land passage,' that is, the area of central Panama and the Nile delta, and the rugged area around Auckland, in New Zealand, considered an end of the world, in the antipodes. Beginning roughly from the mid-19th century, the Panama Isthmus became a busier and busier place. Many ships brought here European adventurers and immigrants, who had left for doubtful, yet very attractive exploits. But the isthmus was a journey full of incredible difficulties; the old road built at the conquistadors' time had been utterly swallowed by foul-smelling swamps, and the road was also terrorized by gangs of thieves who looted and killed. Under these circumstances, it was decided to build a railway from one ocean to another, and it was inaugurated in early 1855 (Bucur 1982, 305). As for Egypt, Berghaus had in mind the 'Overland Route,' established around 1830 by the British lieutenant Thomas Fletcher Waghorn, for the transportation of mail, but also passengers, between the Mediterranean and India (Cana 1926, 26). Two Romanian travellers from the Communist period, reaching Egypt in the 1970s, noticed that in the Nile delta can be encountered " 'walls' of green reed […] through whose wilderness the railway only looks like a small timid path," going on to state that "the omnipresence of the waters seems to insinuate a certain violation of the truth transcribed on maps. No ! Cartographers have not yet abdicated their proverbial care for exactness. Yet their work can only explain the splitting of the river into its multitude of arms and channels" (Fătu, Nedelcu 1980, 196-197). As to the realities of the Egypt of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, the Italian writer Fausta Cialente (1898-1994) recalls the shrunk houses of the Arab quarters, with their rundown, mice-bitten window shutters, bathed in an atmosphere of solemn happiness in bright November afternoons; the big packages with tightly tied supplies with thick strings; and the roasted pigeons, breaded with bacon and thyme, served at lunch (Cialente 1965). These were picturesque things which Berghaus himself may well have liked as well, even if he learned them from indirect sources such as reading and contacts with travellers. As to New Zealand, "the northern shores of Lake Taupo bound a large area of high economic activity, including forestry. […] The hub of this area is Auckland, which is situated astride an isthmus with a deep harbour on the east and a shallow harbour to the west" (J.W.R./M.A.Ro./W.Mo./Ed. 1994, 917). Long voyages were undertaken to obtain the New Zealand greenstone, as most can only be found in two places. Extremely rare and beautiful, since it was discovered, this translucent stone has been and is still used to make all kinds of jewels (Mureşeanu 1986, 225).

In the lower part of the map are included the two hemispheres (northern and southern), flanked by a general map of the winds (*Allgemeine Wind-Karte*) and a map of the magnetic declination (magnetic variation) for 1855 – the same year of the inauguration of the Panama railway (*Linien gleicher magnetischer Missweisung für das Jahr 1855*). On the hemispheres are represented the telegraph lines round the world (*Telegraph um die Erde*): those in use, those under construction, and those in the project stage. On the whole, Berghaus' map is so modern and up-to-date, and the author so eager to increase its value, that it

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showed even the Australian voyages round the world – by means of bright ochre lines.

The conclusion is that this stock of maps were carefully arranged and pertain mainly to events and places where the ruling dynasty of Habsburg was involved. Nevertheless, from aesthetic reasons, the custodians of the museum thought it best to other spectacular pieces included in this portfolio as well, and they might also have had in mind the fact that it is better to have these sheets collected in one single place. This thing could only make easy the work of researchers as well. There is an important focus on science and the soil resources, materialized in the various and interesting geological maps. The existence of such pieces also raised the prestige of the institution, which could boast such rarities or have them exhibited in an organized framework.

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DANCE CARDS ISSUED BY THE TRANSYLVANIAN CARPATHIAN ASSOCIATION OF TOURISTS (SKV / SIEBENBÜRGISCHER KARPATENVEREIN) IN THE BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM'S COLLECTIONS

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Abstract: *The present paper is presenting the dance cards from the balls organised by the Transylvanian Carpathian Association of Tourists /SKV / Siebenbürgischer Karpatenverei established in Sibiu in 1880. From the second half of the 19th century in all balls held in Sibiu such dance cards were printed. They presented the order of the dances and had room enough to write down before, the name of each dancing partner. The Transylvanian Carpathian Association of Tourists organized such balls in order to raise money for activities concerning the mountain tourism.*
Keywords: *dance cards, ball, Transylvanian Carpathian Association of Tourists, Sibiu, 19th century.*

Rezumat: *Articolul prezintă ordine de dans ale balurilor organizate de Asociația Carpatină Ardeleană a Turiștilor / S.K.V./ Siebenbürgischer Karpatenverein, care s-a înființat în anul 1880 la Sibiu. Aceasta este una dintre cele mai vechi asociații montane și de drumeție din lume, aflată încă în activitate. Din a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea la toate balurile erau tipărite astfel de ordine de dans, care prezentau succesiunea dansurilor și aveau un loc liber lângă fiecare, pentru a fi scris numele partenerului căruia îi era acordat. Asociația Carpatină Ardeleană a Turiștilor organiza aceste baluri pentru strângerea de fonduri în vederea strângerii de fonduri pentru a susține activitățiile legate de buna desfășurare a turismului montan.*
Cuvinte cheie: *ordine de dans, bal, Asociația Carpatină Ardeleană a Turiștilor SKV / Siebenbürgischer Karpatenverein, Sibiu, secolul XIX.*

About S.K.V. / Siebenbürgischer Karpatenverein

Transylvanian Carpathian Association of Tourists (SKV / Siebenbürgischer Karpatenverein), was established in Sibiu, in the year 1880. It is one of the oldest mountain and hiking associations in the world, still in operation. Initially, there was an idea for the Transylvanian association to be a subsidiary of a mountain tourism organization established in Budapest but, in the end, the German-Austrian model (Dragoteanu 2014, 1) was preferred. Carl Conradt and Carl Wolff were the most active members of the initiative committee that laid the foundations of SKV. Thus, on November 28, 1880, Carl Wolff, then director of the newspaper "Siebenbürgisch-Deutsches Tageblatt", was the one who read, in front of the 500 members, the status and objectives of the association. From his speech it appears that SKV's activity followed three main directions: the construction of chalets and access roads, the editing of profile publications and the organization of a mountain guide service. He said that the purpose of the association is: "to awaken the love of nature (...) to teach young and old to take advantage of the inexhaustible source of health offered by nature, from which man can gather new strength to cope with the problems of human existence ..." (*Der Werdegang*, pp. 11-13).

The first president of the association was Carl Conradt, supported by E.A. Bielz and Carl Wolff. His role was to put into practice the provisions of the statute and to lead the association in the proposed direction. The association operated between 1880 and 1945, with over 6,000 contributing members grouped into 16 sections. The activity of the association was extremely intense, about 60 huts and chalets being rebuilt or built from scratches by the members of the association. Among these are: Postăvaru, Curmătura, Diham, Omu, Mălăiești, Vârfu cu Dor, Negoiu, Bâlea Lac, Bâlea Cascadă, Podragu, Urlea, Bărcaciu, Suru, Prejba, Șurian and Parâng. Also during this period, over 1000 kilometers of paths were built and marked, the bases of Poiana Brașov and Păltiniș resorts were laid, tourist maps, magazines and mountain guides were published. Within the SKV, scientific studies were carried out in the field of flora, fauna, geology and geography of Transylvania, being published an

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impressive number of articles and books on these topics. Siebenbürgischer Karpatenverein has had systematic contacts and exchanges of publications with over 100 similar associations and university centers in Europe. The scientific concerns of the SKV members reached their climax with the establishment of the Museum of Natural Sciences in Sibiu, where many valuable collections found their place. Notable members of SKV include: Dr. Julius Römer, Dr. Eduard Bielz, Dr. Carl Wolf, Emil Sigerius, Alfred Prox, Acad. Dr. Emil Racoviță, Dr. Ioan Meșotă, Gheorghe Dima, Tiberiu Brediceanu, Iosif Pușcariu, Take Ionescu, Prince Nicolae and Bucura Dumbravă.

At the end of the 19th century, the technical-industrial development and the rise of a new social category – the bourgeoisie played an important role in the evolution of the Sibiu society. The emergence of factories, banking and social institutions has created a relative prosperity leading to the creation of an environment conducive to the development of culture and tourism. The development of the transport and communication networks contributed to the success of S.K.V. - Sibiu section, by increasing the number of tourists in the area. Thus, in November 1892, the railway between Sibiu and Avrig was inaugurated (Sigerus, 2016, 61) and in August 1894 the railway to Cisnădie was inaugurated (Sigerus, 2016, 62). Three years later, more precisely in November 1897, the railway network was extended to Turnu Roșu (Sigerus, 2016, 63). The communication became simpler and faster by installing the first telephone in Sibiu, at the end of 1895 (Sigerus, 2016, 62).

In addition to the enthusiasm of the S.K.V. members, the association needed financial support to carry out its activities. The most substantial incomes were collected from the annual contributions, from the donations given by individuals, from public institutions, banking and commercial companies. The funds were also raised by organizing scientific and cultural events, holding conferences on tourism, editing albums, publications and maps. Each association organized different fundraising events. For this purpose in Sibiu, the "Carpathian Ball" was organized annually (Dragoteanu, Cluj-Napoca, 2014, 4). From the 19th century, for all organized balls, dance cards were printed in the form of notebooks; these included the list of dance titles (sometimes also of the composers) grouped in a column, with free spaces in a second column for the names of the dance partners, in successive order. Over time it became an accessory, provided with a ribbon or a decorative element to be attached to the wrist or to the prom dress. (Frîncu, Hrib, 2017, 20). The dance cards also became very elaborate accessories, not only by the precious printing but also by the fact that they incorporated velvet, silk, metal and, sometimes, jewelry. The uniqueness of the design and the personalization of the cards aimed to promote the ball hosts and emphasize the importance of their guests. Today, the dance cards are documents of social history, providing useful historical information – date, location, dance sponsors, modern dances and songs of the time, printing, etc. (Frîncu, Hrib, 2017, 22). The items presented in this article are dated to the late 19th and to the early 20th centuries and come from a collection of over 200 pieces, recorded in the medieval collection of the *Altemberger House* Museum of History, within the Brukenthal National Museum. Most of the pieces in the collection were printed in Sibiu and Transylvanian printing houses, but also in printing houses in Vienna. The collection includes dance cards that come from the balls of the Sibiu garrison officers, but also from balls of various associations of students, industrialists, pharmacists, musicians, athletes and women (Frîncu, Hrib, 2017, 48). From the balls organized by SKV / Siebenbürgischer Karpatenverein / Transylvanian Carpathian Association of Tourists, several dance cards were kept in the collection of Brukenthal National Museum, some of them being donated by Emil Sigerus, one of the outstanding members of SKV. They stand out by promoting in their pages the mountain landscapes, cottages, refuges and paths built by S.K.V.

Catalogue:

1. Dance card made of cardboard. The front cover is covered in red silk and the date is centrally printed in golden ink: 3 Februar 1885. The title page invites to a tour in the Transylvanian cities through the means of a dancing gathering held by the Viennese subsidiary of Siebenbürgisches Karpathen-Verein. The pages present views of the most important cities in Transylvania of that time: Hermannstadt/Sibiu, Kronstadt/Brașov, Schäßburg/Sighișoara, Mediasch/Mediaș, Bistritz/Bistrița and Klausenburg/Cluj-Napoca. Page 1: *Städte-Führer/ durch/ SIEBENBÜRGEN/ Zugleich Wegweiser/ für das/ TANZ-KRÄNZCHEN/ der/ SECTION WIEN/ das Siebenbürg. Karpathen-Vereins./ 3 Februar 1885*. Page 2: Transylvania’s coat of arms. Page 3: view of Sibiu. Page 4: *1. Walzer./ 1.Polka française /*

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1.Polka Mazur/ 1. Quadrille. Page 5: view of Brașov. Page 6: *2. Walzer..../ 2. Polka française/2. Quadrille/ 3. Walzer*. Page 7: view of Sighișoara. Page 8: *1. Polka schnell; 3.Quadrille/ 2. Polka Mazur*. Page 9: Ruhe. Page 10: *Cotillon*. Page 11: view of Mediaș. Page 12: *3. Polka Mazur/ 4.Quadrille / 4.Walzer/ 3. Polka française*. Page 13: view of Bistrița. Page 14: *5. Quadrille / 4. Polka Mazur / 2. Polka schnell*. Page 15: view of Cluj. Page 16: Transylvania's coat of arms together with the name of the ball organizer: Siebenbürghisches Karpathenverein. The back cover presents a brass support for the pen. On the second page is the coat of arms of Transylvania. The card was printed in Vienna by the Carl Formme printing house. It is also part of Dr. Emil Sigerius donation from 1929.

Fig.: 1-9

Dated: 1885

Dimensions: L: 8.8 cm; LA: 6.2 cm

Inventory number: M1643/24 (8751)

2. Dance card made of cardboard, decorated in the upper left corner with Edelweiss flowers. The date of the ball "14 März 1885" is printed in the center and in a medallion is represented the coat of arms of Transylvania, framed by the name of the association that organized the ball: SIEBENBÜRGISCHER KARPATHEN-VEREIN. Under the floral decoration are listed the dances: *Walzer / Polka française / 1. Quadrille./ Polka Mzur./ Walzer./ 2. Quadrille./ Polka schnell / RUHE./ Walzer./ 3. Quadrille./ Polka française./ Polka mazur. / 4. Quadrille./ Polka schnell / Walzer*. The notebook entered the collection of Brukenthal Museum in 1929 through a donation from Dr. Emil Sigerus.

Fig.:10

Dated: 1885

Dimensions: L: 10.8 cm; LA: 6.5 cm

Inventory number: M1643/35 (8751)

3. Dance card made of cardboard; from the cover we find information about the ball organizer and the date of the event: *Tanzordnung/ Sektion „Hermannstadt" S.K.V./ 1 Februar 1894*. Above this information, in the center, is printed a floral decoration. On the next page are printed the dances proposed to the participants in the ball: *Walzer/ Polka française / Polka mazur/ I. Quadrille/ Walzer/ Polka française/ II Quadrille/ Polka schnell/ Walzer// III Quadrille/ Polka mazur/ Ländler/ IV Quadrille/ Walzer/ Polka alle drei/ V Quadrille/ Polka schnell.* The notebook is provided with a brass hook and a cream hue silk cord. It entered the collection of the Brukenthal Museum in 1929 with a donation from Dr. Emil Sigerus.

Fig.: 11-16

Dated: 1894

Dimensions: L: 9,7 cm LA: 6 cm

Inventory number: M1643/74 (8751)

4. Dance card made of cardboard; the front cover is covered in dark red silk. On the cover is printed: S.K.V/ Sekt. „Hermannnstadt"/ 1 Febr. 1898. Page 1: Ball/ der/ Sektion/ „Hermannnstadt"/ SKV. Page 2: Vor der Ruhe: / Walzer...../ Polka française........../ I. Quadrille..../ Polka mazur...../ Walzer.....„Landskrone", Walzer von A. Novak, der Sekt. „Hermannnstadt" SKV. Gewidmet./ Polka franc............./ II.Quadrille......../ Polka schnell..... Page 3: Nach der Ruhe: / Walzer...../ Polka mazur....../ III. Quadrille........../ Walzer../ Polka alle drei...../ IV. Quadrille........./ Walzer/ Polka schnell......./. Page 4: is presented the name of the printing house F. Neuzil in Sibiu. On the back cover is embroidered an Edelweiss flower and the symbol of SKV. The notebook is provided with a string of cherry silk, miniature climbing tools and a brass hook. It entered the collection of the Brukenthal Museum in 1929 as a donation from Dr. Emil Sigerus.

Fig.:17-18

Dated: 1898

Dimensions: L body: 6.5 cm; L total: 18.5 cm; LA body: 5 cm; L accessory: 8.6 cm; LA accessory: 5.1 cm; L bow: 7.5 cm; LA bow: 2.3 cm

Inventory number: M1643/28 (8751)

5. Dance card made of cardboard, was printed for the S.K.V. (Sibiu branch) ball, held on the 1st of February 1990.The front cover is covered in beige silk, presenting the name of the ball printed in golden letters *Sektion „Hermannstadt" S.K.V.*, framed by a floral decoration. The 23 pages comprise the succession of dances and photos of different mountain areas assigned to the

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“Hermannstadt” section of S.K.V. The dances in the program before the brake were: *Walzer/ Polka française/ I. Quadrille/ Polka mazur/ Walzer/ Polka française/ II Quadrille/ Polka schnell*. The ones after the brake were: *Walzer/ Polka mazur/ III Quadrille/ Walzer/ Polka alle drei/ IV Quadrille/ Walzer/ Polka schnell*. The photos are illustrating: Păltiniș resort, pavilion I in Păltiniș, the Tourists’ House chalet in Păltiniș, the Prejba hut, „Dreibrücke” and „Schwindlerbrücke” – bridges built by the S.K.V. for the access to the Negoiu peak, the Bâlea hut, the Bâlea waterfall, the Bâlea lake and the Podragu area. On the last page is printed the S.K.V. coat of arms and the name of the printing house: Lichtdruck V. Jos. Drotleff Hermannstadt. The notebook presents a brass hook, a beige silk cord and a support for the pen (although the pen was lost). It entered the collection of the Brukenthal Museum in 1938 as a donation from Dr. Emil Sigerus.

Fig.: 19-29

Dated: 1900

Dimensions: L: 10 cm; LA: 6.3 cm; Lcord: 14 cm

Inventory number: M1649 (14.355)

6. Dance card made of cardboard, on the front cover is printed in silver letters: Ball der „Sektion Hermannstadt” S.K.V. 1. Februar 1906. The first page presents: *TANZORDNUNG/ VOR DER RUHE: Polonaise/ walzer/ Polka française/ Pas de patineur/ 1. Quadrille (Lancier)/ Walzer/ polka mazur/ 2. Quadrille/ Walzer/*. On the second page it is illustrated a mountain landscape with a chalet, above of which is written *BULLEATAL* and bellow *Neue Schützhütten des S.K.V.*. The third page is illustrated with a landscape with Bâlea lake, the text above being *BULEASEE* and bellow *Steinhütte des S.K.V.* On the forth page are presented the dances: *NACH DER RUHE/ Walzer/ Pas de quatre/ Walzer/ 3. Quadrille/ La Czarine/ Walzer/ 4. Quadrille/ Walzer*. 5. It entered the collection of the Brukenthal Museum in 1929 as a donation from Dr. Emil Sigerus.

Fig.: 30-33

Dated: 1906

Dimensions: L :8.8 cm; L total: 12 cm; LA: 6.5 cm

Inventory number: M1643/20 (8751)

7. Dance card made of cardboard was printed for the S.K.V. (Sibiu branch) ball, held on the 1st of February 1908. On the front cover is printed the name of the ball: *Ball/ der/ Sektion/ „Hermannnstadt”/ 1 Februar 1908*. The same text is written on the first page as well. The second and the third page contain the list of the dances: *TANZ ORDNUNG/ VOR DER RUHE/ Polonaise/ Walzer/ Polka mazur/ Quadrille (Lancier)/ Walzer/ Pas de patineur/2. Quadrille/ Walzer; NACH DER RUHE/ Walze/ Pas de quatre/ Walzer/ 3. Quadrille/ La Czarine/ Walzer/ 4. Quadrille/ Walzer*. The dance card entered the collection of the Brukenthal Museum in 1936 as a donation from Miss von Freinburg.

Fig.: 34-36

Dated: 1908

Dimensions: L: 12 cm; LA: 5,5 cm

Inventory number: M1653/11 (14.059)

8. Dance card made of cardboard was printed for the S.K.V. (Sibiu branch) ball, held on the 1st of February 1908. On the one side of the card dance is printed the name of the ball: *Ball/ der/ Sektion/ „Hermannnstadt”/ des Siebenbürgische Karpatenverein/ 1 Februar 1908*. On the other side there are printed the dances: *TANZ ORDNUNG/ VOR DER RUHE/ Polonaise/ Walzer/ Polka mazur/ Quadrille (Lancier)/ Walzer/ Pas de patineur/2. Quadrille/ Walzer; NACH DER RUHE/ Walze/ Pas de quatre/ Walzer/ 3. Quadrille/ La Czarine/ Walzer/ 4. Quadrille/ Walzer*. The card presents a brass hook and a red silk cord. The dance card entered the collection of the Brukenthal Museum in 1936 as a donation from Miss von Freinburg.

Fig.: 37-38

Dated: 1908

Dimensions: L: 11.2 cm; LA: 15.5 cm; Lcord: 22 cm

Inventory number: M1653/29 (14.059)

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS / LISTA ILUSTRAȚIILOR

Fig. 1-9: Dance card, inventory number / Ordin de dans, număr inventar: **M 1643/24 (8751)**

Fig.10: Dance card, inventory number / Ordin de dans, număr inventar: **M 1643/35 (8751)**

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Fig. 30-33: Dance card, inventory number / Ordin de dans, număr inventar: **M 1643/20 (8751)**

Fig. 34-36: Dance card, inventory number / Ordin de dans, număr inventar: **M 1653/11 (14.059)**

Fig. 37-38: Dance card, inventory number / Ordin de dans, număr inventar: **M 1653/29 (14.059)**

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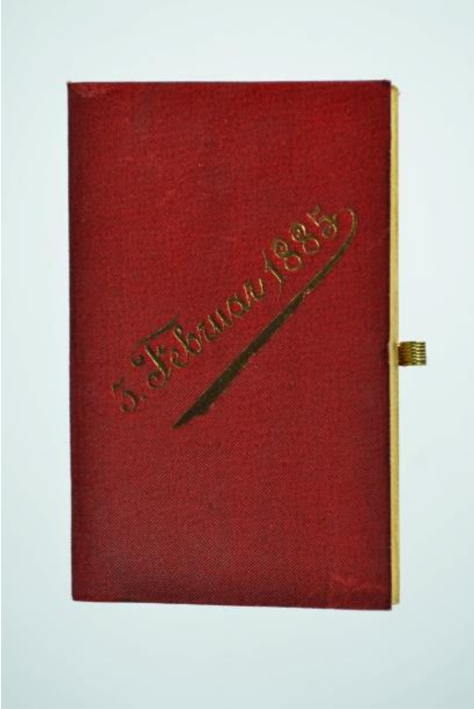

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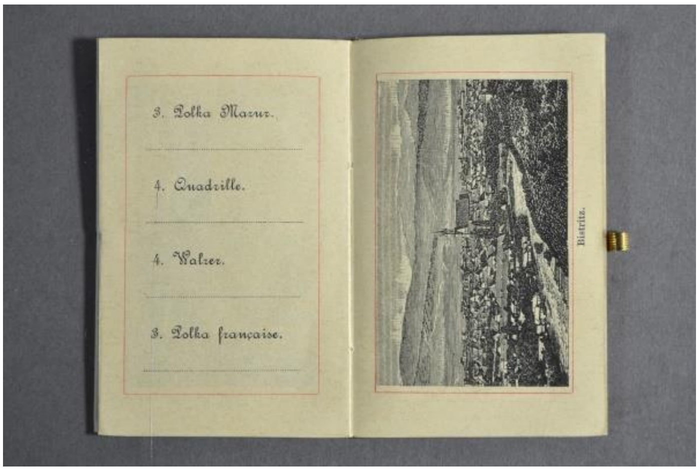

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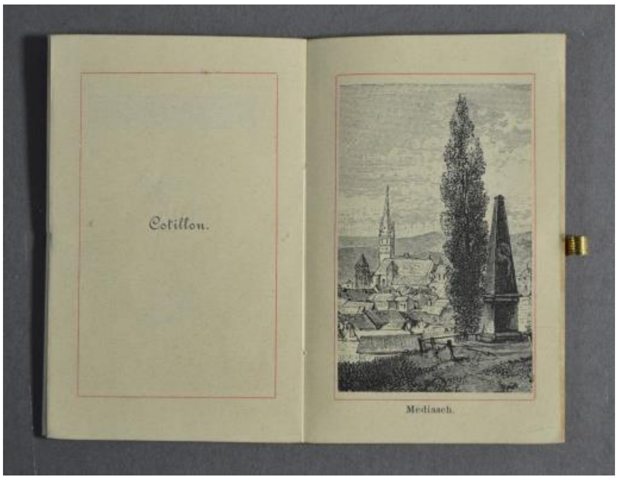

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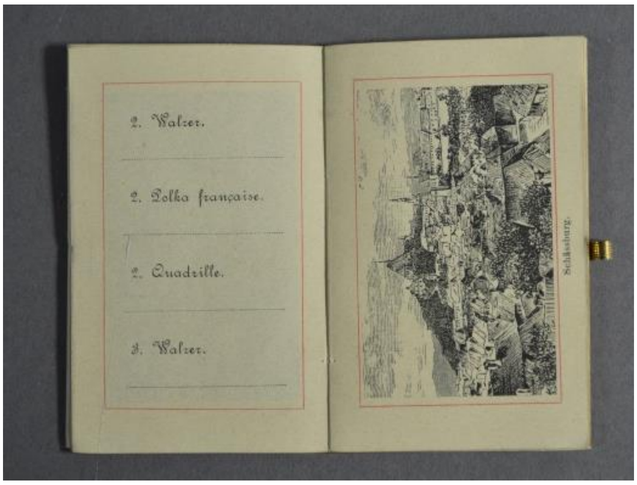

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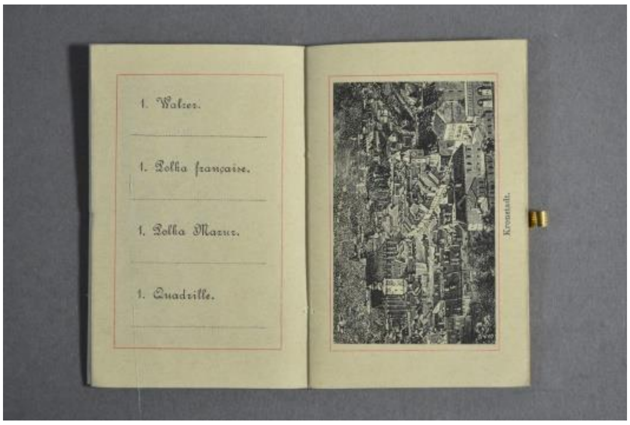

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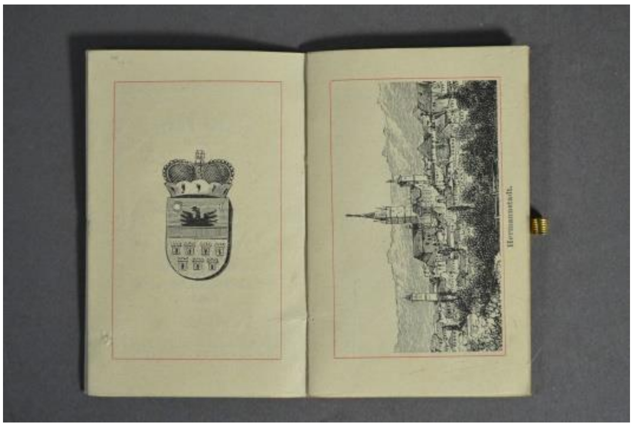

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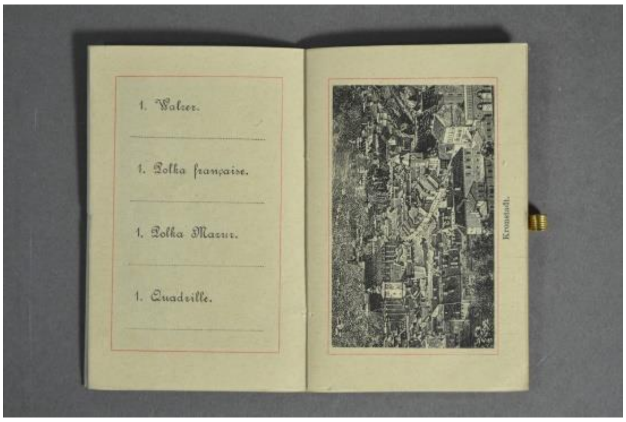

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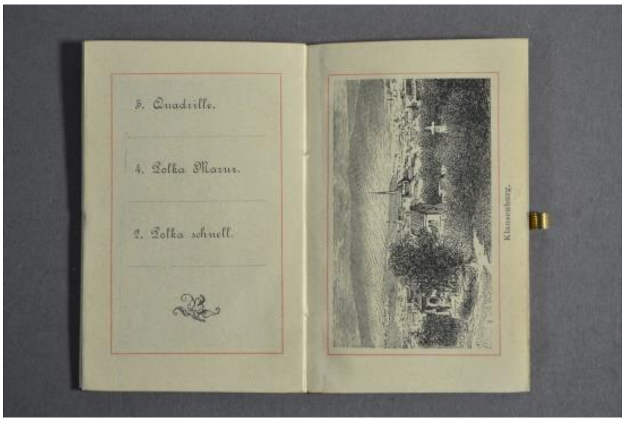

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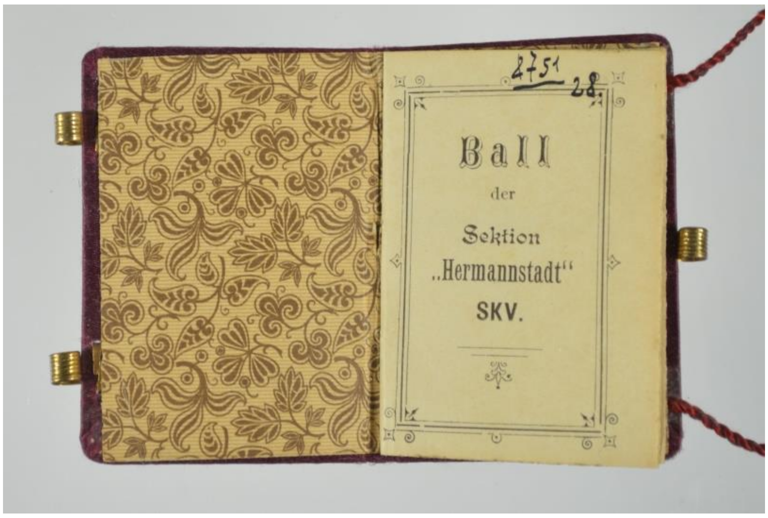

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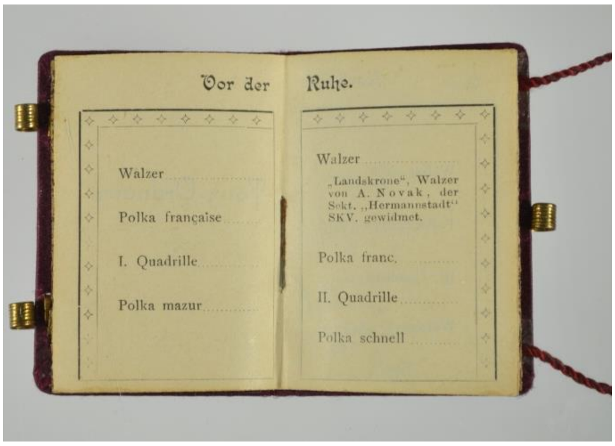

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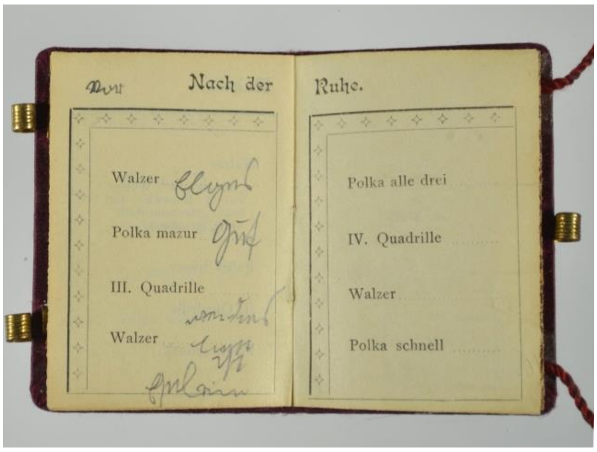

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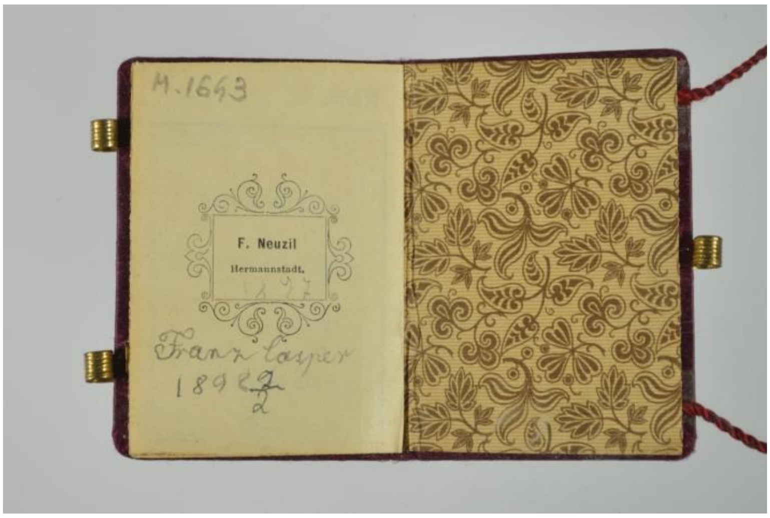

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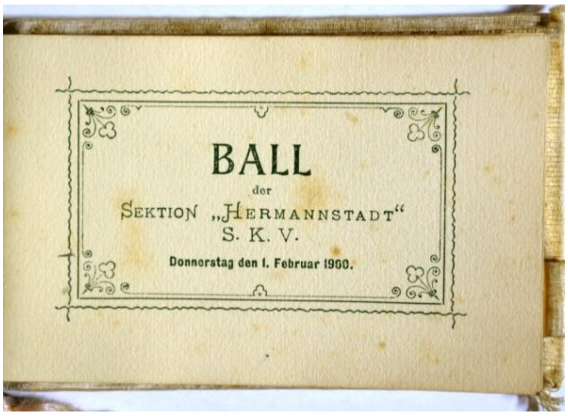

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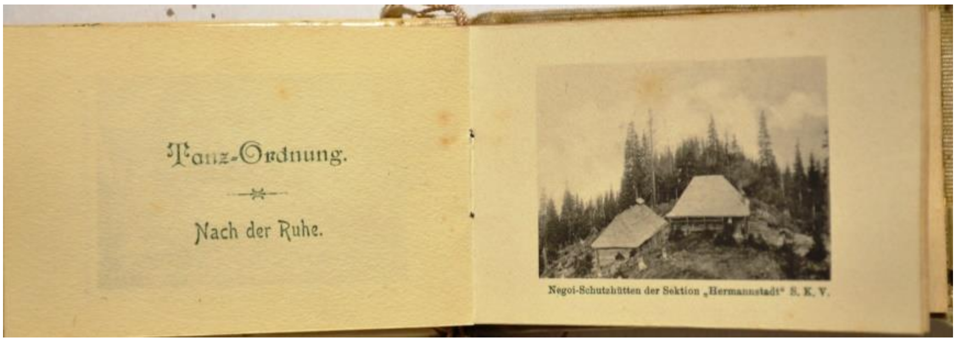

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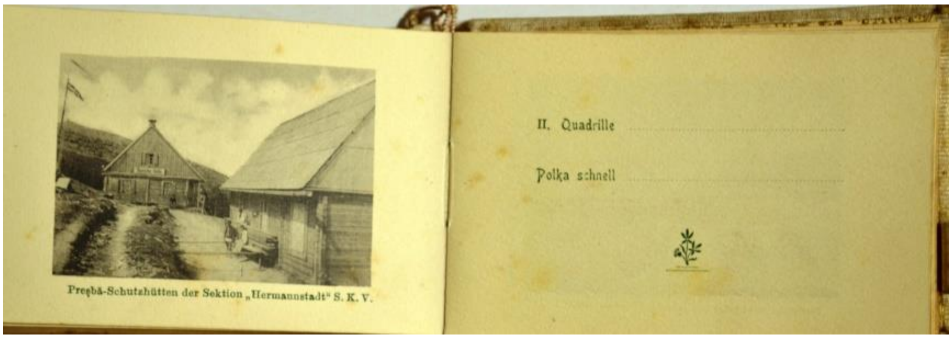

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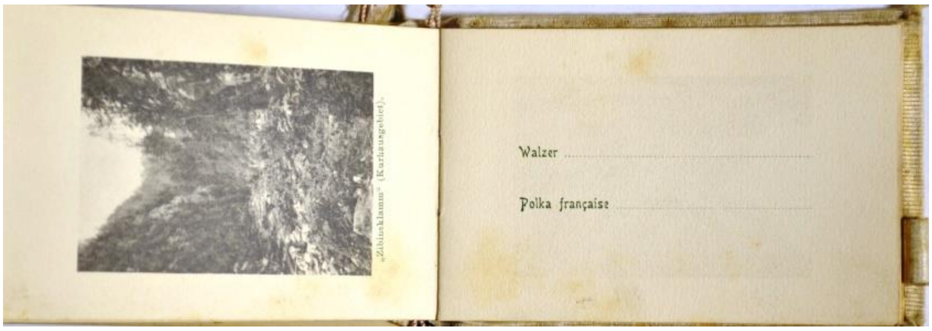

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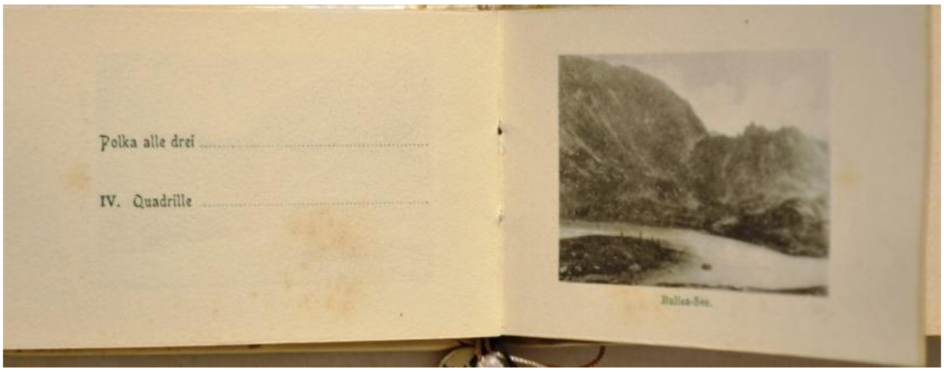

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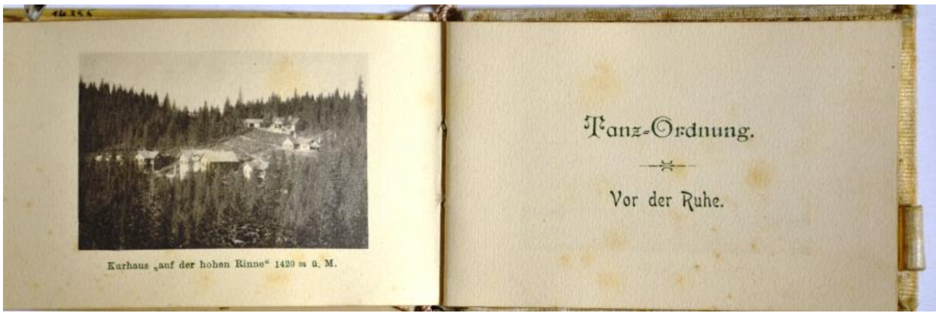

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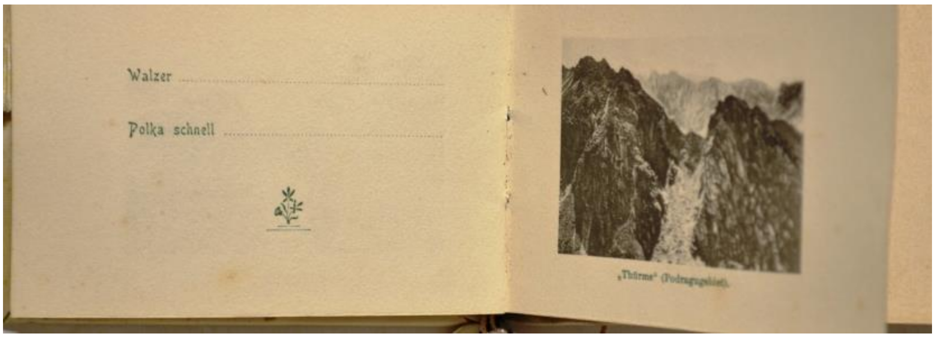

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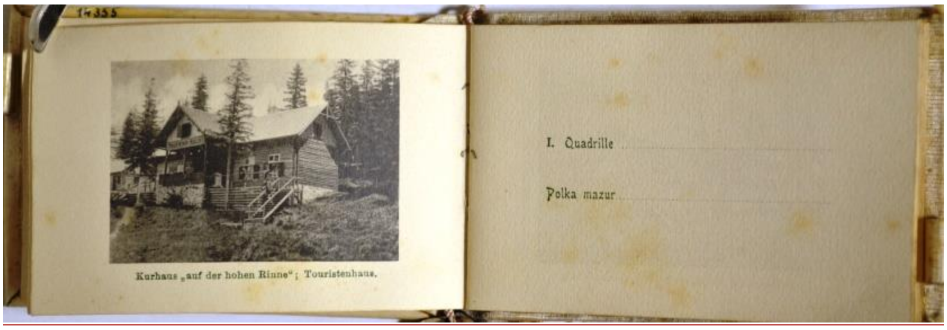

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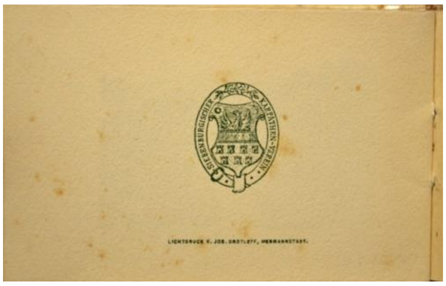

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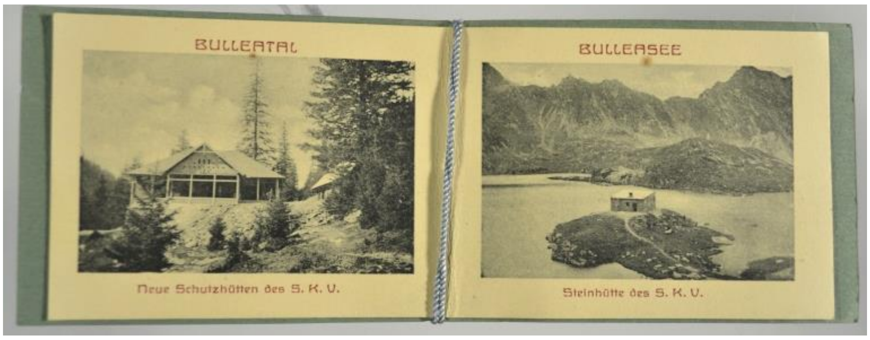

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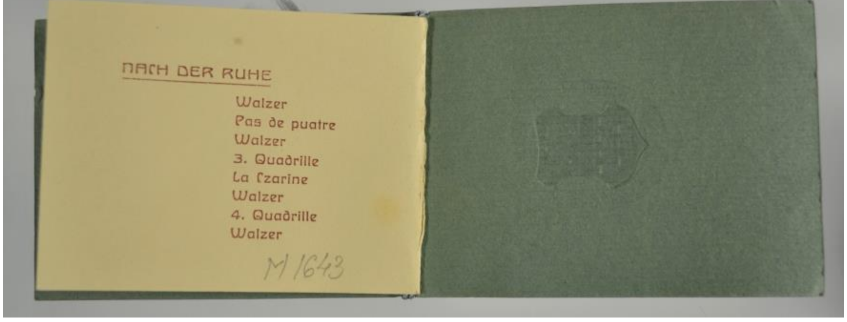

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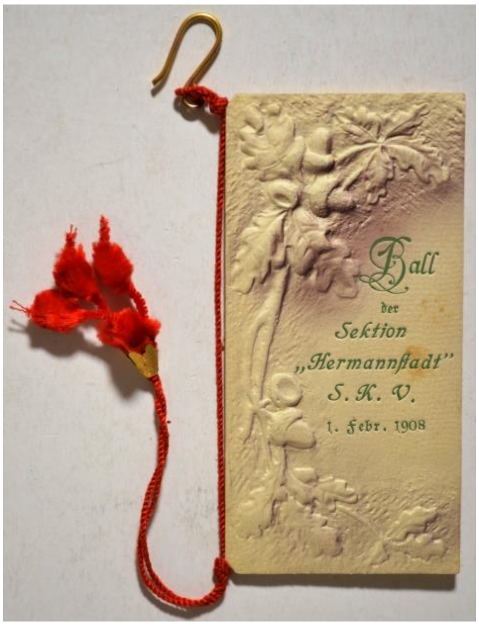

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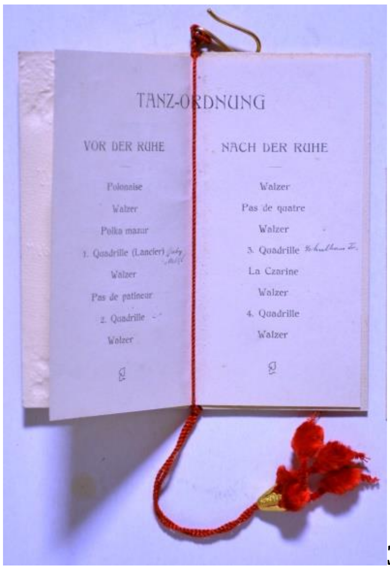

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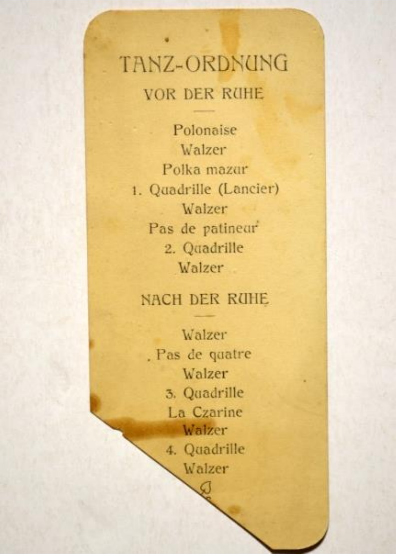

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PLAGUE COLUMNS OF TIMIȘOARA – AN 18THCENTURY EPISODE OF FAITH, DEVOTION AND IMAGERY

Mihaela VLĂSCEANU*

***Abstract**: Often regarded as gestures of religious authority, an art of the Catholic faith propaganda, the Plague columns of Timișoara represent an important episode of the artistic Baroque manifestation. Having from a tipologycal point of view affinities with similar monuments erected across the Habsburg Empire provinces, these monuments display an iconography particular to the period when they were created, expressing devotional acts of faith, contributing to the stage setting where life and death were celebrated. Stylistical considerations make up a vivid picture of how the Baroque, or its late manifestation, in a period when there were no longer Counter Reformation echoes, but new and enlightened ideas penetrated the recently aquired province at the eastern border, a time for a delayed artistic movement,designated as"Barochetto". With an initial output from the official workshops of Vienna, these monuments are to be regarded as layouts of political authority as well, because the absolute monarchy of Central Europe was on the verge of dissolution, with signs of revival in the art promoted officially. Covering a period when disasters were always present, the monuments of Baroque sculpture instruct by means of allegory and signs, creating the imagery of an age when Catholicism regained position. With complex iconographical settings, these monuments recall Heaven on Earth, by means of saints who intercede, as protectors for divine salvation. The celebration of the victory over Protestants turned into a celebration of the victory of a modern Christian state power over a medieval lingering power. By means of comparison, description and decoding of messages promoted visually by the monumental sculpture with plague related iconography one may access this complex world of 18thcentury imagery.*
***Keywords**: Plague columns, Baroque, the Banat, apotropaic saints, allegory*

***Rezumat:** Coloanele ciumei din Timișoara reprezintă un episod important in manifestările stilistice legate de stilul baroc desemnat adesea ca exprimând gesturi de autoritate religioasă și politică, sau artă a propagandei catolice. Cu afinități tipologice identificate in toate provinciile Imperiului Habsburgic, aceste monumente propun o iconografie ce reflectă mentalitatea unei epoci pline de contradicții. Viața ca o scenă este un concept ilustrat de monumentele ce ilustreaza viața și moartea deopotrivă, subiectele preferate și de barocul provincial (barochetto) fiind în directă rezonanță cu centrul Europei. Manifestare târzie a stilului emanat de centrul Europei, barocul din Banat este o reflexie a ideologiei iluministe și nu mai are legătură cu Contrareforma reigioasă, de aici și elementele ce definesc această manieră de instruire vizuală, prin monumente ce evocă un imaginar legat de epidemia de ciumă din 1738-1740.Manifestărileartistice amintesc de victoria puterii statale creștine în fața otomanilor, de vremurile în care protectoratul sfinților antipestilențiali era considerat intervenție divină. Decodificarea mesajelor, a simbolurilor, a iconografiei sfinților apotropaici și a iconologiei în contextul dat, constituie subiectul prezentului studiu.*
***Cuvinte cheie**: monumente, ciumă, baroc, Banat, antipestilețial, sfinți, alegorie*

Introduction

This study aims to reconsider the role of plague columns from Timișoara in a period when Central European values prevailed in what used to be a bordering space of the Habsburg Empire where economic interests and cultural forces collided. Celebrating victory over the plague was an old practice in Europe since the Middle Ages, thus we find this phenomenon as a devotional act ment to seek redemption. How such a phenomenon that relates to the outburst and consecration of a large number of patron saints, of devotion made visual by means of sculpted monuments is the subject of the present article.

Art has the ability to instruct throughout gesture and symbols, the allegory having in the Baroque style one such measure. The visual discourse promoted by these monuments is another key factor in decoding the iconography and iconology, as the main instruments one art historian posesses for his analisis. The artistic vocabulary of the medieval cathedrals used the allegory, in such a

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manner, such images werepresent on the portals as a vivid portrayal of the Judgement Day, with the Apocalipse rendered by a scene where the four evangelists surround Jesusaccording to the visions of Saint John of Patmos (chapter IV) and Jezekiel (chapter I). The narration amplifies during Rennaissance, when the Apocalipse scene transgresses the vision and presents both Christ' s divine and human nature with classical means of expression, only to be contaminated by antiquity baroque traits, of the Hellenistic period when shape and meaning where united as a whole. Heinrich Wolfflin's work *Fundamental Principles of Art History*, defines and compares the two artistic periods (Renaissance and Baroque) by antithesis, shaping in the historiographical stream the pairs of formal opposites used for a better separation beween the two, as sometimes is hard to make a clear distinction, hipothesis expressed by Jakob Burckhardt, who wrote that „these two styles speak the same language, only the dialect is different".

Baroque as a style

Baroque is considered to be the most coherent response given to the intelectual revolution initiated in the 17th century (Hostiuc, 2008:10), promoting a change in mentality. Used by the elites as well as Rennaissance used to, the Baroque will turn towards the common man, appealing to his senses rather than his intellect. This is why the artistic phenomenon presents gestures of authority in a world organised as a stage, *theatrum mundi*, a concept that led to the perspective which shaped the world as a stage and the art as a theatrical manifestation. Counter Reformation and Enlightnement ideas transformed the imperial border province into a succesfull experiment of etatist politics. (Saisselin,1992:145) As compared to the neighboring province of Transylvania, where the plurality of confessions created an aniconic movement, for Banat there was not such a phenomenon, perhaps the characteristic of being a province withouth nobility, also contributed to the form of artistic manifestation. The dissolution of baroque into rococo was almost unseen (except for decorative applied arts), and the first signs of classical tendencies made their appearance, withouth an episode of Renaissance origin as one may observe in the case of Transylvania.

The style changed, leaving a base to be built upon and the art history of the period is about the two institutions that have influenced the artistic manifestations - such as the Catholic church and the monarchy, both active promoters of an artistic interconnected vision. Furthermore, the convention so often designating the provincial art of the Banat reffers to an episode of official output, as the monuments we are to explore were created after a *bozetto* accepted, rebuted and built upon. One of the main ideas introduced by the baroque sculptures was that of the rhetoric they asses, signs, symbols and imagery was used to explain the unseen, to underline danger (war followed by famin and plague), as the bas-reliefs of the Saint Trinity column render in such a vivid manner, recalling the past[1].

The rhetoric of these monuments is not the ancient art of persuasion, though it contains some fragments of it (promoted by the Jesuits), but a way of using recognisable imagery to express a different concept, morals and manners, the best example of connotation change is to be seen in the representation of Mary[2] as the Immaculate, toping the plague column from Timişoara, where she steps victorious over the crescent, steping on the serpent – symbol of the unfaithfull Protestants, while this rendering symbolises another matter, this interpretation of the content gives us a glimpse of the enemy overcomed in Banat: the Ottomans. Such rhetorical devices as the metaphors are concerned makeup the means of expression in visual arts, sculpture consecrating themes with such opulent expression, an intuition of the divine in the smallest details.

The idea, or *concetto* behind the scene is to be found in Baroque artist' s passion for allegory, what is seen is not ment, generating narrative meanings as part of the subject represented. In Vienna, one such column (bears the rhetoric of ancient times, as it is a column – an obelisc, a monument that even during the Roman Empire represented a symbol of conquest and had been brought from Egypt and placed as marker for city squares), reminding of the new urbanistic principles of Pope Sixtus V who reorganised Rome as Holy and eternal city, is represented by the column raised as an *ex-voto* after the plague of 1679. Sixtus V wanted Rome to be a stage for the Catholic renewal. With a complex iconography that relates to the apotropaic quality

[1]For a sinthesis of the Baroque manifestations in the Banat see the recent study published by the author M.Vlăsceanu, *Regional characteristics of Baroque Art in the Banat*, in (V.Neumann- editor), *The Banat of Timişoara*. A European Melting Pot, Scala&Heritage, London, 2019, 161-180.

[2]Topic outlined in a study dedicated exclusively to the iconography of Mary, for details see M.Vlăsceanu, *Considerations on the iconography of Mary in the Baroque sculpture from Timişoara*, in Banatica, XXII, (2018), 849-855.

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of the saints depicted, with patterns of representation, as plague protectors (Donatus, Florian, Nepomuk, Roch, Carol Borromaeus, Sebastian, Virgin Mary, the Trinity at the topp), as iconoraphic definitory presences, representations calling for repentance and virtuous life having as source the Bible, but often using paraboles of the Old or New Testament as the plague statues contain *memento mori* scenery.

The dramatic vision upon the world unfolds with stereotypes, one such example being the plague columns (obeliscs). Based on an iconography defined and iconologically debated, one treaty of the Council of Trent, retains our attention as it had been an important imagery source for artists and artisans, *De invocatione, veneratione, et reliquiis sanctorum et sacris imaginibus* (1563) (Sabău, 2012:7)

The monument bearing similar iconography in Graz (1685), presents the same repertoire of saints St. Roch and Florian, Sebastian invoked for their apotropaic qualities, while the inscription placed on the base of the column, makes use of ancient rhetoric to address:

"Sanctissimmae Ac Individuae Trinitate et Intemeratae Virginis Honoribus Civitas Graecensis monumentum Hoc Anno X.DC.LXXX Leopoldo I Imperante Pro Peste Aversa Posuit".

Baroque art managed to revive the iconic feature as a result of Catholic religion revival facing the Protestant challenge. Though the resolutions of the Council of Trent[3] were manifold, from correcting the corruption to being a supporter of the Church's position on matter of doctrine in the light of Luther's revisionist theology (Hyde Minor,1999:46), from our point of view what retains our attention is that devotees were instructed by artistic images, reminded of the stories of faith and miracles. Especially the Jesuits were champions on a form of devotion that called upon theatrical devices, used in order to persuade the worshipper, the baroque style they practiced being designated as one true art of persuasion.

Setting the stage for faith and devotion in eighteenth century Banat

Covering a period when disasters were always present, the votive works of Baroque sculpture instruct by means of allegory and signs, creating the imagery of an epoch when Catholicism regained position. With complex iconographical settings, these monuments recall Heaven on Earth, by means of saints who intermediate as protectors the divine salvation. In the Banat, the celebration of victory over Protestants turned into a celebration of the victory of a Christian modern state power over a Middle Age lingering power. By means of comparison, description and decoding of messages promoted visually by the monumental sculpture with plague related iconography one may enter this complex world of eighteenth century imagery.

The finest creations of Baroque sculptures unfold in Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century while in the Banat we find expressions of devotion after 1730 when religious orders (Jesuits and Franciscans set foot in the Habsburg province, with an interconnectedness of things with european manifestations. Having from a tipologycal point of view affinities with similar monuments raised across the Habsburg Empire provinces, these monuments display an iconography particular to the period when they were created, expressing devotional acts of faith, contributing to the stage setting where life and death were celebrated alike. The scenes presented have moralizing sub-texts made visual by relating to historical context: the outburst of the plague epidemy in 1738[4], the first one in the modern epoch, episode which lasted two years.

The circumstances that led to the transformation of the baroque episode from Banat into a late variant of the style, the so called „*barochetto*" tend to reveal what makes the style classical in manner of expressiveness, departed from the trend setting centre.We may ask ourselves why use this term in relation to the manifestation? and respond at the same time that the variant unfolding in the Banat, it best suited the characteristics of the style that emerged from central Europe and spread and disoluted into a provincial manifestation.One may find the conjecture that initiated a sinchronicity with the centre in the translation of the power (Charles VI, Maria Theresa and Joseph II) as representants of the absolute monarchy, with less active inputs during the latter, when iconoclastic actions were taken[5](Sabău,2002:320), but with baroque and rococo guidelines to be followed by artists during the other two reigns mentioned.

The repertory of saints endowed with apotropaic qualities - iconography and iconology

[4]Spread by the Grünne regiment from Transylvania.
[5]The author of *Monachology*, Ignatius de Born, transposed the new attitude towards the monastic life and high nobility in his work, leading to a change in the production of religious artefacts (sculptures, paintings, liturgical furniture).

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The iconological message of these Baroque figurative sculptures realised after the plague epidemic needs to be understood as these passages of faith and devotion had strong dogmatic background. Theoretical considerations imply a concise presentation of these imagery sources more open to sensitivity rather than intellectual reasoning. In the iconological sources of the European context we find (*Codex Albrect*)[6] a document, among others already mentioned, adding Cesare Ripa's *Iconology*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the *Symbolography of Augsburg* (1701), Anton Holler's treatise, *Augusta Carolinae Virtutis Monumenta* (1733) or Antonio Beduzzi's, *Chronographs of the time*. Beside the iconography with dogmatic background, the plague monuments in Timisoara have little in common with the monuments mentioned as models (Vienna, Graz). What is more interesting is the presence of symbols of authority (monarchy or patrons of the arts of that period), which are in fact absent from this subject. The first sketch of a plague monument (**Figure 1**) describes the iconography of the saints depicted, thus one may observe Francisc Xaverius, Johannes de Deo and Anton of Padua. Only the iconography of plague patron saints indicates the gloomy period in the local history. One bas-relief with the royal coat of arms surmonted by a crown stands for the imperial presence on the ascending obelisc, in the case of the Trinity Column. From Timișoara. Marian columns were raised across the empire to give thanks for the intervention in quelling the pestilence and other scourges, many such depictions presenting Virgin Mary as a beautiful maiden (*Virgo singularis*) or the Immaculate Conception, also a protector from death by plague. **(Figure 2**)

Because saints intercede for humans by praying to God on their behalf, their images and relics are called upon, prayed to, so as to provide aid and blessing, according to a decree of the 25th session of the Council of Trent (Hyde Minor,1999:47). The Church had been, since the first centuries of Christianity, a good patron of the arts, too. The Jesuits were the first to promote the cult of Mary and of Saint John Nepomuk, establishing two congregations in the Banat: one of the Immaculate Conception and the Congregation of The Sorrowful Sufferings of Christ, while the Franciscans combined the two and made up the Congregation of Saint Nepomuk found under the protection of the Immaculate Conception. (Koloman: 1958,204).

Documents mention even a quarrel that started between the two orders that had to be ratified by the king in favour of the Jesuits, who were forced to simplify the exagerrated street processions held on different occasions. The monuments of Baroque sculpture have a didactic value because, during these processions, worshippers found a true visual expression of their faith in the images employing conspicuous symbols. There is a moralistic didacticism, in this case meant to inculcate Christian values, most evident in certain realisations of abstract concepts. The transcience of life and the idea of death became convincing themes, the eighteenth century people being invited to contemplate, meditate on the tragic solemnity of death.

An important example is Saint Nepomuk[7], (**Figure 3**), protector of the secrets revealed under confession, who was promoted by the Franciscans in order to replace George as the city's patron saint, or even Carlo Borromeo[8] (personification of *Docere*, and *Pieta*), a true intercessor from an iconologycal point of view (Montagu,1989:176). His artistic renditions in the case in point present him as bishop of Milan, protector of those who suffered and died of plague. With subtle means of expression and pervasive postures, he is presented as a proud descendant of the Medici family in Florence (Sabău, 2012:18).

Saint Rosalia, often found on the plague monuments, was a constant presence having the same iconography and similar features on a monument in Plzen (the Czech Republic), where the same posture was chosen for presenting the patron saint**.** Saint Barbara, the patron of Good Death, who was the patron saint of the miners in the Banat, in this capacity being portrayed bearing the three-window symbol (similar to the Trinity Column in Timișoara). Virgin Mary's story begins in theological terms with her Immaculate Conception, a doctrine turned into a dogma of the Roman-Catholic church in 1854, Pope Pius IX proclaiming:

„The most Blessed Virgin Mary was, from the first moment of her conception, by a singular grace and privilege of almighty God and by virtue of the

[6]N.Sabău, *Metamorfoze ale barocului transilvan*., vol. I, Sculptura, Ed. Dacia, Cluj-Napoca, 2002, p. 320.

[7]One article in particular was dedicated by the author of the present study to the evolution of Nepomuk's representations in the historical Banat, see in this respect M. Vlăsceanu, „Ipostaze ale reprezentării Sf. Ioan Nepomuk în sculptura barocă din Banat", in *Ars Transsilvaniae*, no.8, (1999), 229-243.

[8]N.Sabău, „Iconografia Sf.Carlo Borromeo în Transilvania epocii barocului", in *Historia Artium*, vol.57 (2012), 5-30.

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merits of Jesus Christ, Savior of the human race, preserved immune from all stain of original sin.[9] *"* (Fisher,1995:31). She is seen as a second Eve, part of God's plan for the redemption of humanity, intercessor – *Regina Coeli* (The Holy Trinity Column), Immaculata (The Mary Column). The S shape of her body sends the worshipper back to the Gothic period when her images adorned the cathedrals' facades (*Notre Dame*) or the portals of the secondary entrances to churches. A regal vision of triumphant and victorious Mary, a vision that combines inner and spiritual beauty, is to be regarded as a comforting thought for any worshipper. Her gown floats, the lily stands aside as a symbol of her purity, while the halo strenghtens her divine connection. These are all stereotypical images of Mary in the iconography of the Baroque period which defined her, the discourse promoted having undissimulated rhetorics. Why is Mary so often depicted? We may find the answer in another quality she was endowed with, as she was patron of the kingdom, *Regnum Marianum* (Hungary) as the monuments from Kecskemet and Pecs illustrate.

Christ appears as part of the Trinity group of Timișoara, with many representations in rural Baroque monumental sculptures (most of these monuments representing the same hypostasis), such as the statues from Mașloc **(Figure 4**), Tisa Nouă, Arad, Teremia Mare. He is no longer the man of sorrows, *Vir dolorum* of the Gothic age, showing his wounds and human nature, instead, he is presented as *Salvator mundi*, as Saviour and Redemption bearer, bringing Heaven on Earth. The Council of Trent gave a resolution about how Christ should be represented in art*: „he must be shown in pain, bleading from his wounds, humiliated, pale and repulsive to sight, if the subject would demand it"*(Bazin, 1980:8).

It was in fact a revival of religiousness, an emphatic affirmation of Catholic faith through artistic acts sustaining mainly the miracles as an important subject of the Baroque imagery. The pattern of these monuments has programmatic intentions as the theme of death was inspired by the laments of man facing his implacable dissappearance. This attitude will change in the eighteenth century when awareness generated revolt and contradiction, mainly against the enemy, a counter reaction to everything that bound the society after the reform of the Church. This rebellion will manifest itself, in artistic terms, as an antithesis with the Central European Baroque, cultivating the macabre – only beauty was evoked according to the classical patterns.

In terms of provenance, all the works originate from Viennese workshops, where they were created and sent to Timișoara bearing the same iconography and iconology, adapted to the every-day landscapes of the 18th century Banat.

An important characteristic of the province of Banat was that it had no nobility to stress their European descent (as in the case of Transylvania, where ellaborated coats of arms reflected this tendency) so the most important personalities of that time were high officials such as Jean de Hansen, the only documented patron of the arts. He commissioned the monument as *memento mori* scenery, honouring his wife who died during the 1738-1740 plague epidemic.

The works immortalize the fame of the donor, as was the case of Emperor Charles I, of religious orders and high officials involved in the administration of the province. Marian columns (**Figure 5)** or Trinity columns (**Figure 6**,**7**) as designated by various authors, are monuments of Baroque sculpture presenting martyr saints as the most common feature of iconography, saints that suffered for their faith and devotion[10]. From the first martyr of Diocletian's reign –Sebastian (who died in 288 AD) to Florian (who died in 304 AD), Nepomuk and Roch, Carol Borromaeus, Barbara and Rosalia – patrons of the Good Death, all surround the plague motif, celebrating Heaven on Earth.

Conclusions

Baroque art was meant to connect, to create a unity in diversity, diversity created by the variations in the style, or „the baroques", whose emergence shaped the composite and cosmopolitan province of the Banat. As the style became a trend that unified tendencies, we can state that the term *Baroque* is synonymous with *European* for the period in question. The multiethnic and multicultural society of the 18th century Banat shaped its main characteristic, that of an eclectic phenomenon, the Baroque repository being maintained in the local sculpture in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The European integration of the Banat was for the period in question provided by the artists of Central –European descent. This origin is visible

[9] Catechism of the Catholic Church, 2nd edition, Part one, *The profession of faith*, 490.

[10] M. Vlăsceanu, "The iconography of saints as represented in the Baroque Monumental Sculpture of Banat", in *Transylvanian Review*, vol.XXI, Supplement No.1, (2012), 227-232.

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in the patterns of iconography they used to express the imagery of the eighteenth century in their elaborate works of monumental sculpture (*rondo bosso*). Evolving along what is to be considered the provincial Baroque, it developed after the waves of colonization which shaped the diversity of the Banat province, with a second Baroque generation of artists, most of them unknown, with a preference for simple urban patterns, more adapted to classical means of expression, less pathetic, yet as visually appealing as the rustic Baroque. A special importance is given to the ornamentation[11] of these figurative renderings as the ornamental motifs are mannerist and show a wide variety of influences. Memorials for posterity, these monuments represent symbols of faith and devotion bearing the artistic traits of the style that modernized the Banat – a version of the European Baroque with an eloquent repertory of apotropaic plague saints.

[11]M.Vlăsceanu, „Caracterul sincretic al ornamenticii barocului în artă –cazul Banatului*"*, in *Şcoală și societate în Banat*, Ed. Eurostampa, Timișoara, (2018), 57-65.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS / LISTA ILUSTRAȚIILOR

Figure 1. Sketch of the Trinity Column (1741), unknown artists, Francisc Xaverius, Anton of Padua, Johannes de Deo, mentioned on the inscription, were not represented in the final work.

Figure 2. *Virgo singularis* type, or the representation of an abstract concept *Immaculata Conceptione,* E. Wasserburger & F.Blim,1754, Timișoara (Libertății Square).

Figure 3. Saint Nepomuk, 1721, Timișoara (Millenium Square).

Figure 4. Plague monument - the Holy Trinity in Mașloc (Timiș county), last quarter of the 18th century.

Figure 5. Marian column (plague monument) Libertății Square, Timișoara, apotropaic saints: Sebastian (left), Roch (right), Nepomuk (middle), Immaculate Conception (top), bas-relief scene (Nepomuk's martyrdom).

Figure 6. Trinity Column-Plague obelisc (Unirii Square Timişoara), 1741, Jean de Hansen –patron, unknown artist, Viennese workshop.

Figure 7. Detail of the Trinity column (Plague monument), Mary as *Intercessor.*

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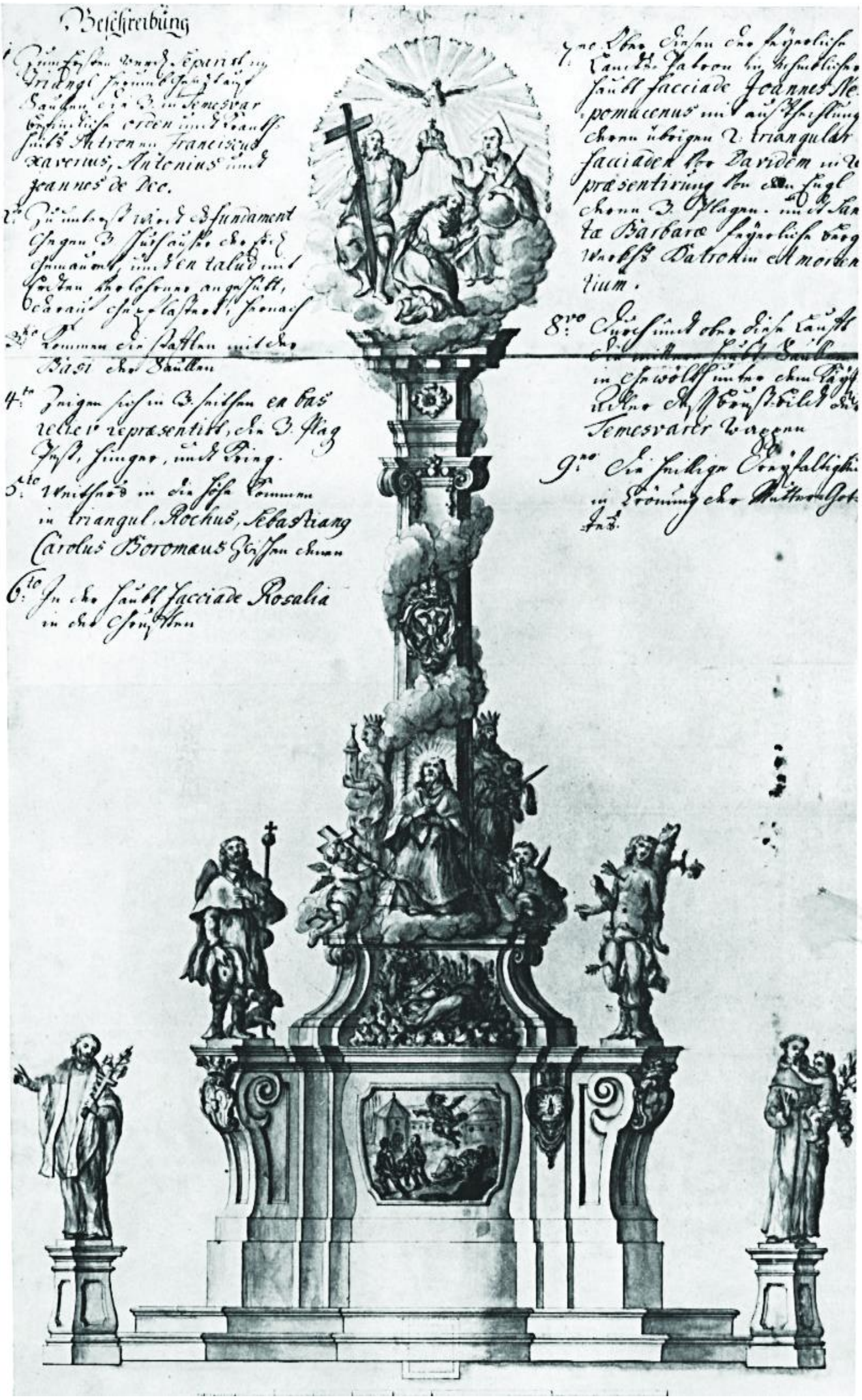

Figure 1.

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Figure 2.

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Figure 3.

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Figure 5.

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HISTORY ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN „TRANSYLVANIA" REVUE: ASTRA'S ORGAN (1868 – 1900)

Anca-Maria POP*

Abstract: *The article is meant to stand as scientific proof that interest about the foundation of the Romanian history, culture, language existed on a large scale and for a very long time, ever since the middle of the 19th century. The ASTRA Association proved to be, as soon as it saw the light of day, a loyal candidate who militated in this sense. Regarding the Romanian nation, unity was present, mildly in the beginning, in language, culture, beliefs, and traditions. "Transylvania" Revue comes in handy when trying to explore this topic in detail, being also a very good tool for showing a part of the medieval history of Romania. These are the main ideas that will be furtherly developed in this paper, along with specific articles on the medieval history of Romania.*
Key words*: Medieval history, Romanian nation, ASTRA, culture, historical resources*

Abstract: *Articolul de față se dorește a fi o mică dovadă științifică asupra faptului că interesul despre fondarea istoriei românilor prin existența culturii, a limbii, au existat intens de o lungă perioadă de timp, chiar din mijlocul secolului al XIX-lea. Asociația ASTRA a fost, încă de când a văzut lumina tiparului, un militant foarte bun a acestei cauze. Unitatea națiunii române a existat în limbă, cultură, credințe, tradiții, cu blândețe și toleranță, dintru început. Revista „Transilvania" este o excelentă mână (numită organul asociației) care arată acest topic în detalii, fiind de asemenea un suport bun pentru a ilustra partea istoriei medievală a Românilor. Acestea sunt obiectivele pe care dorim să le relevăm în acest material – însumare de materiale istorice medievale ale românilor.*
Cuvinte cheie: *istorie medievală, românism, ASTRA, cultură, izvoare istorice*

This topic was addressed during a course of the Doctoral School "History. Civilisation. Culture" of the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj Napoca, being suggested and then carefully supervised by the conf. univ. dr. Adinel Dincă.

Considering the period of the analysis that we touch upon, the history of Romanian people represented a topic that was extremely loved by its readers. It mostly happened so because of the fact that, back then, integrity in terms of identity and geography had not been defined yet.

We are adhering to this material all articles from the „Transylvania" Revue, which refer to Romanian history and Romanian people's history up until the 1600. The period analyzed is based on the efforts of this revue which successfully militated for the construction of that which was the Romanian nation between 1868 and 1900, and also for previous times , loyal to the reality lived then by the Romanian people. This was accomplished through various means such as the promotion of the Romanian language and history, along with worthy Romanian personalities, traditions and the legacy we inherited from our ancestors; to these it added the spreading and popularizing of books and journals of the time amid the masses and the publishing of history articles. Romanian history is encapsulated in its entire longevity in this magazine, which emphasizes a genuine nationalism that was lived wholeheartedly not only by the intellectuals of the time, but also by the common people.

We are pleased to discover the interest showed for the unification of the nation, the care and respect that Romanians had for each other, but also the variety in the matter of scientific domains included in the "Transylvania" Revue. Even though it was more than a century ago, studies were conducted on agriculture, law, geography, history and other nations (Jesuits, Greek etc.). Besides this multitude of domains included, we appreciate people's receptiveness of articles regarding education, agronomy, science, and literature, Darwinian theories etc. We can almost say that most scientific fields (except for the ICT and softs) already existed. Over time, we did evolve in terms of science but, at the same time, we, as a nation, have lost interest in the fact that we are all parts of the same identity, the Romanian identity, which we do

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not embrace anymore, the Romanian spirit as a part of our being becoming at times absent.

The historian George Barițiu (1812 - 1893), who was the head of the revue for a long time since it was conceived, shows his interest by publishing a series of historical materials and documents collected from various archives.

Starting from 1890 to March 1892, first secretary and editor of the revue was mister I. Popescu (1832 - 1892), chosen during ASTRA's meeting from August 1889, after mister Barițiu was elected as president (editor and first secretary for no less than 20 years, since the publication was born). The following editors tried to carry on the precious heritage of revue, but they did so modestly. Like mister Popescu said, George Barițiu founded especially the historical dimensions "with an abnegation and results that only history will be able to appreciate according to its merit", in the article "To the honorable readership". (Popescu, 1890, 1) From 1892 the great task of being first secretary of the Association and first editor of the revue was given to mister poet Zaharia Boiu (1834 - 1903), who took the responsibility with modesty as well and who requested the readers to honor him with trust: „I ask you, the honorable reader public, to give me your trust, and especially the Romanian men of letters, to cherish my chance, so that I can go on with this magazine in this honorable position" [„Rogu dar pre onoratu publicu cetitorii, a me dona cu încrederea sa, şi în special pre dd. literaţi români, a-mi da preţuitulu dlorii concursu, spre a puté susţiné acestu organu la onorifica posiţiune"], call made in the first number he conducted. (Boiu, 1892,1) From 1896, his successor was Mister Dr. C. Diaconovich.

As a whole collection of historical medieval written material, this article also transposes as a modest attempt to construct the subject's taxonomy, as follows:

I. Historical sources (437 articles)

The part named suggestively *Clio* – a series of history materials draws our attention. George Barițiu has published here important documents about national ideas, national integrity, and the construction of Transylvania. Clio Series (*Clio: Extractus Memorabilium in Lexicone Rcrura Tranuicarum Eruditissimi Viri Illustrissimii"; Clio: Data Historica Opidum Balásfalva Comitatus Albae infer. Respincientia; Historica data. Ex indice Codicis et Supplementi ejusdem Codicis Illustrissimi Domini Comitis Josephi Kemény, item Archivorum Ejusdem*, tom I – X) is extending in numbers in 1868 and 1869 of "Transylvania" Revue. (Barițiu, 1868; Barițiu, 1869)

Historical resources occupy a special place here due to their content and dimension. Inside those, we find information about the establishment of the local domains, of the geographical administrative borders, even data about the conflicts, which appeared under specific circumstances, and, consequently, the punitive measures applied.

We shall also mention the article from the beginning of the already published document, article in which, while describing the diploma archive, the editor states: „This collection starts with the year 1096 and, in 62 papers summing 494 pages, extends to the year 1676. To these we added another two papers – 63 and 64, which comprise an extract from the manuscript "Transylvania special" from the historica; Ios. Benko, for Cincisiu (Csolnakos), the cradle of the Huniadiane family, as well as some articles that refers to Romanians.

Another category of historical materials, specifically official documents, is the one contained in *Diplomas collection from the Count Iosifu Kemény's diploma archive, which is mostly related to Romanians (valachi)"comitelui sau ontelui„ regarding almost only Romanians (valachi),* also under George Barițiu's coordination, those starting from the 1871 edition of the "Transylvania" Revue up until to the ones of the 1874 (no. 16 from 15 august). (Barițiu 1870, Barițiu 1871, Barițiu 1872, Barițiu 1873, Barițiu 1874*a*) The publishing of this *Diplomas collection* was possible thanks to Count Iosif Kemény's benevolence (1795 – 1855), who, during his life, and with the occasion of the meeting from 1848, at „the canonical Cipariu" and George Barițiu's request, gave permission to copy as many documents and as often it was necessary to increase their usage. He delegated for this task priest Ștefan Moldovanu. This good and preserving man completed the diploma archive by copying and restoring extracts in Romanian and by adding explicative notes. He also offered it to the Transylvanian Association for Romanian Literature and The Romanian Culture People, by means of the honorable revue that we are looking into.

We should also refer to the succinct and essential description of the documents, which have content about Romanians' history, starting as early as the 19th century. After publishing the diplomas of the Kemény committee, the editor gives an explanation in numbers 17 and 18 of the 1874

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magazine, in which he discusses the poor materialistic conditions, which led to the presentation of the diplomas in several numbers of the magazine, even if their importance should have meant publishing all of them in only one volume. (Barițiu 1874*b*) The multitude of publications related to Romanian history that took place in Blaj, Bucharest, from Transylvania Magazine and others, during the last "even only 12 years" is surprising (the editor states). It succeeds in unveiling how Romanians from those times were true and devoted patriots: "amórea de patria (love for one's country), joined in unity and national solidarity, the devotion and the promptitude of sacrificing life and fortune in times of peril, their unshakable faith in our power of national life and in the immortality of our essence, political caution, united with our country's soul. (Barițiu 1874*b*, 209)

Other important diplomas were published, apart from the ones already mentioned, those that refer to the history of Michael the Brave (”Transylvania” Revue [TR] 1896a, 32) and Negru Vodă, the Founding Father of Muntenia, (TR 1896b, 74-76)and other papers that certify some noble donations.

II. Pure Romanian history (62 titles) (TR 1868a, TR 1870, TR 1871, TR 1873, TR 1876, TR 1877, TR 1878, TR 1878 – 1900) which bring into discussion various aspects like: the topic of the origin of the nation, cultural monuments, culture of the Dacians, monographies of the 4 cities of Transylvania, for example, that of Hateg Country, the status of women in those times.

III. Etnography (9 articles) which show the archaic facet of Romanians in the matter of habits, gods, ghosts and spirits from the collective mentality, actual habits and gone ones and fairy tales of the people, or the proud traditional costumes. (TR 1868 – 1896a, TR 1868 – 1896b)

IV. Literary-linguistic history (13 articles) (TR 1873 – 1878, TR 1882 – 1892)

We see in this category mister Silasi's study (*Românul în poezia sa populară/Romanians in their popular poetry)* (Silasi 1876 – 77) which is a very rich text as it conserves a lot of information regarding the way in which many domains regarding our nation, our people were either being or to be constructed in that time, as it results from his traditional poetry. It is indeed surprising how substantial in knowledge and materials the popular literature is, as it presents itself as an authentic, sincere, and direct means of communication from person to person, since the ancient times. In the 20 numbers and 2 years of the publishing of the text, the Romanian is portrayed just as he truly is, with his beliefs, religion, history, tradition and superstitions, ancestors, neighbors, love, hate, fears and courage, which are felt and sang by the vast majority of our citizens, the peasant majority.

Research paper for ethnologists, men of letters, theoreticians of the Romanian language, grammarians, historians; its multidisciplinarity brings to light various forms of manifestation: poetry, ballads, dramas, proverbs, etymology, toponymy – derived from the Dacians, those of the Middle Ages. Acknowledging the value of Romanian folk poetry collections and species from the beginnings, the origins from the times of Dacia as they are illustrated in traditional poems, old carols and mythical-religious beliefs that emerge from them, mythical stories and legends, traditions and beliefs over a year (permanent ones- n.n.) and occasional ones.

V. Religious history (10 articles) contain stories about Christianity but also about paganism, and about the history of the churches from Maramureș County. (TR 1870 – 1899)

VI. Biographies (4 articles) of some prominent personalities that lived before 1600: of metropolitan Sava (Biogr 1870), of King Sigismund (Barițiu 1872b), of Stephen the Great (Despre… 1882), and of Cicerone. (Simonu, 1884)

Most of the 500 published titles in the 32 years of 19th century activity of the so called “Astra's organ” emphasize a faithful chronicle of the interest of the Romanian intellectuality in the historical and cultural domain in all of its forms. They worked into building the foundations of the later reached goal, the unity of the Romanian nation, which was primarily done through writing, language and faith.

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THE MOTHER OF ALL PANDEMICS
ROMANIANS AND THE SPANISH FLU. PORTRAITS FROM THE ROMANIAN PRESS

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Abstract: *During the fifth and final year of the First World War, the world was hitted hard by an invisible enemy, which was unfairly called the "Spanish flu." The Spanish flu was the most tragic catastrophe of the twentieth century and one of the deadliest natural disasters in human history. What struck was the virulence of the pandemic, the extremely high mortality and the aggressiveness of the virus, it seems that in many cases, only a few hours passed between the time of infection and the time of death. Unlike other pandemics, that particularly affected children, the elderly and people in already debilitated health, the victims of Spanish flu were healthy and young people between the ages of 20 and 40. According to statistics, this virus has affected about 28% of the world's population, drastically reduced life expectancy and left behind more than 50 million deads. This article aims to display the image of the pandemic in a fledgling Romania, troubled by social, political and economic problems, in a Romania where Queen Maria herself was among those infected with the virus.*
Key words: *virus, pandemic, press, society, death*

Rezumat: *În timpul celui de-al cincilea și ultim an al Primului Război Mondial, lumea a fost lovită puternic de un dușman invizibi, care a primit pe nedrept numele de „gripă spaniolă”. Gripa spaniolă a fost cea mai tragică catastrofă din secolul al XX-lea și una dintre cele mai letale catastrofe naturale din istoria omenirii. Ceea ce a frapat a fost mortalitatea extrem de ridicată, virulența și agresivitatea virusului, se pare că, în multe cazuri, au trecut doar câteva ore între momentul infectării cu virusul și momentul morții. Spre deosebire de alte pandemii, care au afectat în mod special copiii, persoanele în vârstă și persoanel cu probleme de sănătate, victimele gripei spaniole erau aparent persoane sănătoase și tinere cu vârste cuprinse între 20 și 40 de ani. Conform statisticilor, acest virus a afectat aproximativ 28% din populația lumii, a redus drastic speranța de viață și a lăsat în urmă peste 50 de milioane de morți. Acest articol își propune să prezinte imaginea pandemiei într-o Românie tânără, tulburată de probleme sociale, politice și economice, într-o Românie în care însăși Regina Maria era printre cei infectați cu virusul.*
Cuvinte cheie: *virus, pandemie, presă, societate, moarte*

Introduction

Due to the current context of the SARS-CoV-2 induced crisis and knowing that the past holds the key to the present, we have to mention that throughout history there were numerous illnesses that found doctors unable to do anything in order to fight them. Even more so, we can say that the humanity has always battled epidemic outbreaks and pestilences that spared no man and which produced changes throughout history[1]. But, luckily for humanity, the infectious diseases have a specific particularity: akin to alive organisms, they are born, they live, and they die (Nicolle, 1930).

The outbreak of a new epidemic/pandemic is just a matter of time, a fact obvious even to the untrained eye in medical sciences. As Albert Camus wrote in The Plague, epidemics are not something unusual, but it is hard working with them and they always catch people just as unprepared (Camus, 2019, 44). Considering these aspects, maybe in the future we should also look at the history from the perspective of the microorganisms that have evolved alongside humanity. This type of approach can complete history’s “Goldberg polyhedron” and offer possible instructions in case of a new calamity.

It seems that the small “enemies”[2] of humanity are always nearby. In an article published in “PLOS Biology” in 2016 it is estimated that an individual that weights approximately 70 kg is colonized by an impressive number of 38 trillion of bacteria (Sender *et al.* 2016, 1-14). It is even more

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[1] In the Romanian case we can mention the trinity of plague, cholera and typhus. Diseases that are characterized by a periodic return.

[2] Not all microorganisms are harmful for the human body

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impressive that the number of viruses residing in the human body surpasses the number of bacteria by ten times, with recent estimates suggesting a number of 380 trillion (Jeffrey). Apparently, these microorganisms do not do too much harm; nevertheless, they reveal that most of the time the most complex being in our known Universe, the human being, is very fragile. “Man is only a reed, the weakest in nature... There is no need for the whole universe to take up arms to crush him. A vapor, a drop of water is enough to kill him” (Pascal, 1998, 296), wrote the French philosopher Blaise Pascal.

These small actors of the history demonstrate that the humanity evolves but not as quickly as we would want to believe. Even if the evolution of medical sciences baffles us, in terms of collective psychology and human nature we seem to be stuck in time. Judging the reactions of humanity to the big epidemics, certain constants emerge such as: collective wandering, moral crisis, excessive hypochondria, the search of a divine explanation, the appearance of prophecies and astrological artifices, the death of reason, the multiplication of self-will acts, etc[3]. As Jean Delumeau managed to demonstrate, epidemics have a devastating effect on their survivors. Another constant is the apparition of the big epidemics/pandemics during or after a war. The same thing can be applied to “the mother of all pandemics” (Morens, Taubenberger, 2018, 1449-1454).

At the end of the First World War, the pathogenic agent got out of control and decimated the world population as no other pandemic before it. The illness which was later named “the Spanish flu” is shrouded in mystery even 100 years after its outbreak. The historian Terence Ranger thought that the short 1918 pandemic caused big problems not only to doctors but also to all the historians given that “possible” and “probable” are terms which define best the research on the subject (Phillips, Killingray, 2003, XX-XXI).

Even the place where this illness appeared is unknown. After an in-depth research, Anton Erkoreka presents a few possible places where patient zero could have emerged. The first one is a British military base in Étaples, in the north of France. This military base was occupied during war by approximately 100.000 soldiers. According to the historiographer, the cramming, the swamp with numerous migratory birds, nearby animal farms, horses used as means of transportation, the use of 24 types of war gases, all these could have mutated and contributed to the apparition of the first pest hole between December 1916 and March 1917. Another hypothesis places the apparition of the illness to Indochinese soldiers who fought for France between 1916-1918. A document found in the ASSA[4] archives, Paris, shows that the illness appeared in February in the United States of America in the Sing-Sing prison in New York. Other sources mention the occurrence of a pest hole in the ranks of young Kansas farmers, more specifically in the Haskell County locality. Later on, these farmers were drafted to Camp Funston which advanced the spread of the illness (Erkoreka, 2009, 92-94). Most historians place the occurrence of the illness in Camp Funston, but historical and epidemiological data are still insufficient in order to identify the geographical origin of the virus. The only certainty when it comes to Spanish flu is the existence of the illness. All other data is based on estimations and suppositions.

The flu spread fast globally and affected approximately 1 in 3 people in three successive waves with a mortality rate of more than 2.5% (Morens, Taubenberger, 2006, 15), being considered the deadliest in human history. The number of deaths was estimated by Edwin Oakes Jordan to be 21.5 million (Jordan.1927), while Patterson K.D. and Pyle G.F. estimate 39.3 million. Other researches point to other numbers, such as more than 50 million and even the impressive and exaggerated over 100 million deaths (Johnson, Mueller, 2002, 105-115).

Although the impact of the illness was strong, the subject was put aside until the beginning of the current crisis. The overlapping war represents the main subject of study for historians. The recent Western historiography of the past years tried to give some answers, yet despite all this there are certain visible gaps. As a matter of fact, Paul Veyne wrote that a historical event “is never perceived directly and in its entirety; it is always perceived incompletely and one-sidedly, through documents or testimonies, let us say through *tekmeria*, through traces.” (Veyne, 1999, 11)

[3] These aspects are very well highlighted in literature. See Camus, 2019; Porter 1968; Boccaccio, 1975.

[4] Archives du Service de Santé des Armées

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The present historical research is the result of an enormous amount of work, considering the fact that the "traces" of Spanish flu in the Romanian space are scarce and scattered. The lack of information on Spanish flu is attributed to military censorship, but also to the low numbers of health professionals that could have published credible articles. Also it can be noticed that during the researched period the Romanian press favored writing about political, social, cultural, and economic events of its time at the expense of other subjects such as the Spanish flu. The historiography preferred those subjects as well choosing to omit the "history of small things".

The illness in a ravaged territory

In 1918 we find the Romanian territory crushed and in disquietude during a string of events that would mark the existence of the young state. These events overlapped with the terrible blight of the Spanish flu.

It is a constant throughout history that illnesses accompany and/or follow wars. The *Renașterea Română* periodical confirmed this to its readers back in February 6/19 1919 in the following lines: "The wars always have a calamitous aftermath of epidemic diseases that decimate almost as many victims as the war itself, debilitating the entire generation born in those years." (*Renașterea Română,* no. 25, 1) Dr. Alexe Sulică wrote as well that "in the terrible convoy of filth that accompanied the world war, epidemics were in the first row; because it is a known fact that more people were decimated by illness than by bullet. Cholera plague, typhoid fever, and recurrent fever all started to appear with the beginning of the big war." (Sulică, 1920, 1)

Alongside the war, the lack of doctors facilitated the spread of illnesses in the Romanian space. This was recorded by Iuliu Moldovan, general secretary of social defenses resort. This also confirms the lack of certain reports that could offer today's historians a bigger picture on the severity of the Spanish flu, reporting for the *Renașterea Română* periodical that "indeed, according to certain reports that we have, the sanitary situation of Transylvania is pretty concerning. Especially tuberculosis and Spanish flu kill hundreds and thousands of victims are left to fend for themselves without doctors - who are piled up in cities - and without any health agents." (*Renașterea Română,* no. 25, 1919, 1) In such indeed terrible circumstances, a haste decision has been made due to urgent requirements to establish sanitary female and male agents who could replace as much as possible the usual personnel. The publishing of the article on fighting epidemics in the press was a measure of providing information as well as a means of advertising training classes for health agents. Nevertheless, Iuliu Moldovan asserted that although the circumstances were indeed advantageous for those willing to complete these classes, only a few candidates applied. It seems that most of those keen on applying were Saxons (*Renașterea Română,* no. 25, 1919, 1).

During the war and even during the entire inter-war period, the Romanian society rejected a lot of modern elements, even doctors and modern medicine. There were other sought-after alternatives such as the old lady and the priest, which were also more financially accessible for the Romanians.

The small number of doctors and the issue of their division in rural areas have always been a constant issue in the Romanian space. 16 years after the outbreak of Spanish flu, a 1934 report made by dr. I. Stoichița showed that in the Sibiu county 10.000 peasants had one doctor only while in the Sibiu city there was one doctor for each 360 residents. The doctor also revealed some interesting information on the budget management in the health field. According to him, the tax contribution of the 89 communes in Sibiu county was 63 million LEI and only the ridiculous amount of 24,000 LEI was used to treat poor patients, while the rest of the money have been absorbed by the administration (*Cuvântul Nou,* no. 1, 1934, 1) The drugs crisis completes the dysfunctional condition of the medical system. Dr. I. Stoichița claimed that "in the county's communes you can find the portraits of all the ministers from the beginning of the war until now, but you won't find one pack of aspirin." (*Cuvântul Nou,* no. 1, 1934, 1)

The lack of medicine, of doctors as well as food scarcity left the population defenseless. A good description of the scarcity during the war can be found in the Count Saint-Aulaire's notes which describe the events of the winter of 1917 in the following lines:

> "The worship of the dead which is so alive in Romania was now reduced to a sanitation procedure. In this overpopulated, malnourished, and devastated Moldova, the filth and the hunger which led to camp fever

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> produced more victims than the enemy's fire. The hospitals that refused to take in people were lacking everything except for devotion." (Saint-Aulaire, 2016, 106)

The canvas of suffering is completed by the military doctor Raul Dona who despite being gravely ill, decided to depict on February 17, 1918 (a few months before the first outbreak of the Spanish flu) a vivid description of the era:

> "Be surprised! Who will you be, you who will read me someday although I did not write for anyone else, I wrote for me, today awoken in the illness, weakened like a dead man, and disgusted with the amount of time we have been enduring this, feeling deeply everything that hurts and hurting in so many places at once, pushed by this and that, by not eating for months, by the lack of comfort, services, filth and mess, discouraged when facing the fate's misfortune... On the land made by illness - so many illnesses (mine are: purulent infection of fingers after the brutish surgery done in the hospital's filth, then flu after flu, all sorts of deficiencies, paratyphus with yellow jaundice which destroyed me, weakening my heart, food poisoning with rotten foods that you have to eat because of hunger and need...), is there a possibility of someone avoiding suffering?" (Doina, 2018, 234)

After an illness another comes, after a suffering there is another suffering, after a shortage other shortage - this play on words probably describes best the spirit of those times. The work of the writer József Nyírő (1889-1953) is representative for the relationship between society and Spanish flu. In his creation "In God's yoke" published in 1926, he describes the experiences of a community, the fears and helplessness of a doctor and the prayers of a priest in Ardeal while facing the terrible blight. The following is an accurate replica of the complete text without interpretation in order to preserve the testimony that helps us relive the past:

> "The doctor was worried... Nothing like this ever happened to me before. This illness is unknown to medical sciences. It has no name... Four people got suddenly sick. It's the same illness which proves it is infectious. I am helpless against it. I am hurrying up to Cluj to seek some advice from professors.
>
> I know its name now, the doctor told me it's called the Spanish flu, but no one knows the cure to it. A new terrible danger. It will kill at least a million people... And so, a fight began with the new horror.
>
> Never did the humanity face a bigger nastiness. Everyone is living one's own tragedy. The humanity is desperate. It doesn't even need God any longer...
>
> - Come what may, but let it end! - cursed the people. Children were no longer playing on the streets, the field was empty, the pity stopped, the beds were full of patients with nose bleeds melting from the fever. Entire families have been extinguished. I was walking door to door and my mouth has gone dry from all the praying. Everyone was putting their trust in me. There was no day nor night for me anymore..." (Nyírő, 1934, 301-302)

Of course, this fragment is a pseudo-autobiography and the entire work is a figment of creative imagination trying to elicit feelings in the reader's heart. Nevertheless, the historical truth is there together with the artistic reality. This will be observed in the following words.

Thoughts on the Spanish flu

The first mentions of the Spanish flu and one of the only ones to which we can attribute any scientific claim belongs to prof. dr. Vasile Hâncu. The doctor was the founder, owner, and director of the Saint George Hospital from Blaj. This hospital was opened on May 14, 1914, thus Blaj became the first city in Transylvania with a Romanian permanent hospital (Melin, 1915, 30). The *Cosânzeana* periodical described the doctor's endeavor on January 31, 1915, recording a short biography as well:

> "Dr. Hâncu's idea (he was an Archdiocese and Blaj institutes' doctor) to found a hospital in Blaj was marvelous. We really needed this thing. This is why his zest and his labors must be fully appreciated. He studied medicine, pharmacology, and surgery abroad in Paris where he was the director of a sanitarium, as well as in Berlin, Bonn, London, and after being named an Archdiocese doctor he quickly understood that where there are so many institutes and such a vast Romanian space it is absolutely necessary to have a hospital. After arriving in Blaj, he improved on his idea and looked for means of putting it into practice. He bought the land, he adapted some wards and opened the hospital in May, 1914. Presently the hospital has two bigger wards with 16 rooms and another one in the

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> garden for infectious diseases. A total 60-70 beds. Since August it was put for use for the wounded, serving this purpose during the entire war. This was all done under the leading of Mr. dr. V. Hâncu." (Melin, 1915, 30)

The doctor excelled as well during the events of the Autumn and Winter of 1918. He participated in forming of the Sfatul Militar of Blaj as a second lieutenant with his colleague dr. Cornel Circa. He was a doctor inspector of the battalion no. 2 of Blaj and on December 1st he accompanied the detachment from Blaj to Alba Iulia (Marin, 1993, 167-169). He published a series of articles on Spanish flu in the *Unirea* periodical in October and November. His articles can be seen as the most valuable testimonies on the existence and evolution of the illness. Luckily for the historians, it seems that these articles have escaped the military censorship associated with the period.

His first article published on October 2nd, 1918, warns the reader that along with the war, it was possible to record in the nosology of unending illnesses other previously unknown illnesses that have appeared during the war in belligerent armies, such as an eye illness discovered in 1917 and a second illness named Spanish illness discovered during the same year.
Following the research made by dr. Vasile Hâncu, he noted that this illness is

> "contagious, epidemic, and infectious, which means it is a microbial illness; this is the only way of explaining its large distribution among all the European countries. The microbe of this illness was discovered late by prof. Hoorn from the University of Medicine of Budapest by co-operating with one of his assistants after gathering insufficient data and unsure and unconfirmed sources. After this it was of course discovered that this microbe is identical to the microbe of influenza which was discovered a longtime ago by prof. Pfeiffer, having the same characteristics and being grown on the same culture mediums as the influenza microbe." (Hâncu, 1918a, 4)

It seems that the doctor was convinced that this illness appeared in 1917 and just as his other colleagues in Western Europe thought that a bacterium is at fault for human sufferings.

The doctor's testimonies suggest that this illness appeared in the Romanian space in the spring of 1918. On October 2nd, 1918, Hâncu described his own experience with the illness whose appearance is placed by him six months prior:

> "The undersigned faced six months ago before these two cases here in Blaj in the same family. The first patient was the husband and six days later it was the wife; children got away without getting sick. Actually the first case surprised me immensely due to how it was presented and I could not agree with my own diagnosis of "rebellious influenza" especially since I have had many cases of influenza during my career and especially because in 1893 there was a real epidemic of influenza, but with a different form and nature to the current forms. On the other hand, I had no accommodation guides, neither obscure literature that could show me the way. I have been presented with an increased number of such cases - both from private clients as well as military patients from the "Kamenica" hospital in Blaj.
> My puzzlement was deep because from the way the illness appeared and the form in which it presented itself, I could deduce that this is something new, something foreign - unknown but still similar to influenza. Still, to have such a quick result after the method of treatment was surprising for me. Only later on from medical magazines and especially newspapers I deduced that in such cases I was confronted with a new illness named the Spanish flu which in my own personal opinion is an old influenza but under a more complicated form and with the same microbe, but more violent, toxic, wild, that takes by surprise. If it is treated quickly and on time - it subsides just as quickly and the illness disappears, while if left for a long time - with the patient untreated on time and quickly - the microbe takes over the body, weakens it, and gets stronger by taking over other organs, leading to more and more serious complications, making the healing very difficult." (Hâncu, 1918a, 4)

In the same line, the doctor wrote the following sentences on October 10, 1918:

> "5-6 months have passed from the appearance of this illness in our country, I have been following step by step its evolution and development on my patients and I was often surprised by the different forms of this illness, some bordering on fantasy and some very severe, inducing a real panic among the population due to the frequent mortality cases in town but mostly in villages. I am very surprised by our medical staff - from our valuable doctors, university professors, to medical scholars who still haven't said anything on it. I have followed as much as possible all the magazines where at least

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> something has been published on this illness and I am surprised that we are still unclear on this illness that ... we still name Spanish flu, a recently developed illness, which is actually not true because it is known from the XII-th Century as flu or influenza. I have intentionally left so much time from its emergence in our country waiting to see a medical authority to discuss a serious matter like this and give us their authoritative opinion on this important problem. Due to the fact that we are now on the verge of facing the biggest danger, especially after such a big catastrophe, we are exposed to an even bigger catastrophe, and now when our communes are plagued by this illness and the mortality rate grows more and more every day in villages as well as cities without our clear knowledge on the type of illness we are dealing with." (Hâncu, 1918b, 4)

The two articles written one week apart show the doctor's confusion who says the illness is "something" similar to influenza that produced a lot of epidemics during the years. Besides, we can only make suppositions due to lack of statistics that the number of sick people skyrocketed between October 2nd and 10 which prompted the doctor to talk about a possible catastrophe. Our supposition is also supported by the information that the *Unirea* periodical offered to its readers. In the news published on October 2nd, 1918, we can find the following description:

> "The havoc wreaked by the Spanish flu began getting out of proportion. Until now there were only a couple of serious cases in Blaj, and it was even more difficult to reach the couple of villages around Blaj. In Sâncel: there were a lot of deadly cases and solely on October 1st five deaths were suddenly made official. The illness develops into pneumonia when the case is usually deadly. The medicine is still almost helpless against the terrible blight." (*Unirea,* no. 60, 1918, 4)

The origins of the new illness as far as we could see were still unknown to the doctor but the symptomatology was profoundly clear. The illness affected especially the people with ages ranging between 10 and 60 years old. It usually appears suddenly, no matter the gender (Hâncu, 1918a, 4), with a short intubation period of usually 1-2 days with

> "very curious phenomena: indisposition, shivers (cold shivers), rhinitis, dizziness, huge headaches, aching especially in the backhead and neck muscles, rachialgia (pain in the spine), pain in the joints (knuckles), and especially very acute muscular pain, as well as heaviness in the entire body (limbs heavy as lead). Mucosal rheum: runny nose, pharyngitis angina, throat laryngitis, bronchitis, pain with general phenomena which are getting stronger and stronger. The face shows a deep tiredness being very bright or in some cases very pale and tired, a sad look. Sauvage de Montpellier gives it a very characteristic name of flu face. The temperature is usually high, sometimes irregular, often going up to 39-40°, and sometimes even 41° on the third day after which it goes down, going back to normal on the 6th day. The heart is rarely left alone; some individuals have palpitations, arrhythmia... and even cardiac syncopes that leave permanent organic damage to the heart, with palpitations and even myocarditis (damage of the heart muscle) ... The duration of the illness varies between two and eight days, but the feverish periods might even last sometimes 2-3 weeks with complicated phenomena that could cause death." (Hâncu, 1918b, 4)

On October 19 the doctor fills in the initial information on the new illness and signals an abrupt increase in number of cases. Due to its resemblance to a normal flu it seems that the new illness was seen as a joke, but the joke eventually became serious with population getting sick indiscriminately: "in the beginning everything was seen as a joke: "a little bit of a headache, some fever, I'll just lay two days in bed and feel better.

> "Today the joke became serious and each of us is starting to realize that this is no joke because the illness is spreading throughout cities, villages, regions and even entire countries, sparing no poor and neither no rich. Our small town Blaj together with all the region around it were not spared by this contagious illness." (Hâncu, 1918c, 4)

The number of those sick grows with each passing day with people getting it in towns and surrounding areas. The young students in Blaj were also deeply affected and their dorm rooms have been transformed into real hospitals with 8, 12 or even 16 patients in one single room." (Hâncu, 1918c, 4) In the pedagogy class, Hâncu wrote,

> "I have found only four empty beds in all the rows of the three rooms for sleeping, all the rest were occupied by patients. The same thing was in the towns... not only students but along with them the people living in the

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> houses as well. At first, we were glad because in 3-4 days we managed to get them up, make them well, and send them off to school. Later on, there were complications with different forms, one weirder than the other - and especially that which we have feared - the relapses of the illness, which in most cases progressed negatively." (Hâncu, 1918c, 4)

In such nefarious circumstances, Hâncu created the closing report of all the Romanian educational institutions in Blaj (Hâncu, 1918c, 4). In October and November schools have been closed in Arad, Sibiu and Brașov[5]. The education is blocked in Ardeal,

> "the first year of Romanian school was the year 1919-1920, because on the one hand we had the revolution in the autumn of 1918 with the big issue raised by our intellectuals in order to calm the nation's spirit awakened to freedom after hundreds of years of slavery and to create a new organization and order after the falling of the old state organization, and on the other hand the terrible blight of the Spanish flu which decimated in Ardeal almost as many lives as the World War which held back the educational system until the spring of 1919." (Roșca, 1929, 1030)

According to Romul Boilă, the most important event of the 1918, the Union, was made

> "in the middle of a world in full revolution living terrible and unsure days... in a time when the Spanish flu blight has been added to all the filth of the war, decimating the population." (Boilă, 1929, 90)

The danger of the Spanish flu hovering over the Union is confirmed by the disposition 2/15 XI of the Central National Romanian Council of Arad. Following the decision of the election assembly, five deputy members have been chosen who could replace official delegates in case "they get the Spanish flu which is a terrible burden."[6]

Even if we do not posses a complete statistic of the number of people who got the Spanish flu, their number seems to be extremely high if we consider the implemented measures of caution. The reporting of flu cases was a global failure.

> "There were local reports of illness due to the newspapers and the dutiful doctors who realized that this plight was more serious than many others, but almost no central authority had a general image of the situation." (Spinney, 2019, 116)

Romanian authorities were extremely confused by this illness and

> "on May 9, 1919, at around three and a half during a meeting of the Romanian Academy, dr. Babeș issued a statement on the Spanish flu. Following the research, he found that the Spanish flu is not caused by the Pfeifer microbe and it is possible that the cause of the illness is an association of microbes." (*Românimea*, no. 130, 1919, 2)

We can therefore see that even by the end of the pandemic the cause of the illness remained unknown.

The only statistical data that we were able to identify during researching the press is from the last wave of the pandemic, a wave with a moderate severity situated between the first two waves. The press was censored and most probably self-censored as well to avoid spreading panic among the population.

In the news column of the *Alba Iulia* periodical, the National unity proclamation agency reported at the beginning of 1919 a negative natural growth rate: "born 158 (85 boys, 73 girls); dead 334; marriages 61." (*Alba Iulia*, no. 8, 1919, 3) The number of deaths is painfully high, stated the newspaper, and the cause is known to each of us. The Spanish flu that has considerably increased the normal number of deaths (*Alba Iulia*, no. 8, 1919, 3). A year later, *Românul* recorded the big number of deaths even at the end of the pandemic: "in the second half of February two cases of diphtheria, one case of measles, one case of typhus, six cases of camp fever, and 107 cases of Spanish flu have been reported to the medical service of the city of Arad.

> "The majority of those sick with the Spanish flu had ages between 30 and 40 years old (51 cases) and 20 and 30 years old (37 cases). The Spanish flu can be considered to be over now." (*Românul*, no. 48, 1920, 2)

Doctor Vasile Hâncu had a different opinion, and filled with indignation, he wrote in the *Unirea* periodical that:

> "after the horrible four and a half year war we had a very high mortality rate for our brave Romanians on the front and in the hospitals.

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[5] See *Biserica și Școala*, no. 41, 1918,4; *Gazeta Poporului*, no. 44, 1918, 7;
[6] See *Fig. 1*.

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> Putting the crippled aside, at home the Spanish flu destroyed almost as much of our population without any attempts from the Hungarian sanitary agencies who dominated at that time, to take any measures to fight against this epidemic in the cities as well as in the villages and without any important Hungarian person to issue a decisive statement on this situation, describing the illness and showing treatment and control methods.” (Hâncu, 1919, 2)

The doctor thought that the Spanish flu is not completely eradicated and was afraid of a third violent wave which could be encouraged by the low temperatures, lack of sufficient doctors, lack of medicine and medical staff; that is why he was insisting on the foundation of a superior health authority (Hâncu, 1919, 2).

The spread of the illness in the Romanian space can be situated between the spring of 1918 and spring-summer of 1920. If the beginning of the illness and its peak period are described by the doctor Vasile Hâncu, the last wave of the pandemic is described to us by dr. Alexe Sulică. He wrote in the spring of 1920 that:

> “after an 8- or 9-month lull, we have found ourselves in the midst of a new flu outbreak all over the place which violently sweeps the villages as well as cities. The current form of the flu shows some severe cases as well such as deadly complications, but rarer than those in the autumn of 1918, and especially there are more serious complications in adults rather than children and even the duration of the illness and convalescence is much longer than the first one.” (Sulică, 1920, 1)

According to the doctor, this form of flu is different to the one in 1889 as well because it affects the adults more than old people and children (Sulică, 1920, 1), a fact mentioned by dr. Vasile Hâncu as well.

> “The terrible living conditions we went through and have been going through for almost six years,” wrote dr. Alexe Sulică, “play a considerable role in this unnatural receptivity. The epidemic took its toll on a population ravaged by suffering, left to depressing thoughts, to uncertainty, and all sorts of problems. To this we might add insufficient feeding, fatigue, improper adherence to hygiene, a directionless way of living, which all together favored to a large extent the stretching of the pandemic parallel to the increase of physical and moral weakness.” (Sulică, 1920, 1)

We must specify that although the illness struck harder those with a more disadvantaged background, it did not choose its victims based on class, just as the plague described by Boccaccio (Boccaccio, 1975, 18-21). Therefore, even the Royal House of Romania has been affected. “Shortly after the decision of the Great Assembly in Alba Iulia on the union of Transylvania with Romania, the queen picked up this illness.” (Ciupală, 2017, 318-319) On January 17, 1919, the *Unirea* periodical announced that “Ex-king Carol is very sick with Spanish flu. He has been bed-ridden for two weeks. He has a big fever.” (*Unirea* no. 9, 1919, 4)

The members of the royal house beat the disease. Another part of the elite was not as lucky. Amongst those who died of illness are Fotin Enescu, who was the minister of finance back then, and for whom Queen Mary had a particular reverence.

On March 2/15 *Renașterea Română* wrote that “there has been news from Paris that Victor Ionescu, the brother of Mr. Take Ionescu has died. He died of a serious form of Spanish flu.” (*Renașterea Română*, no. 46, 1919, 2) Three months later, on July 21, after a long suffering, dies the hero of Mărășești and Oituz, the general Eremia Grigorescu (*Renașterea Română*, no. 147, 1919, 2)

Even if there are not many sources which counted those who died of Spanish flu, we can still support the existence of the pandemic in the Romanian space. An additional proof to the ones exhibited until now is the existence of the persistent fear in the collective mind a long time after the illness ceased to exist. In 1927 when there is a new flu outbreak a new panic emerges. An article in the *Unirea* periodical named “Spanish flu again?” reminded the readers “how quickly were filled the graveyards in the autumn and winter of 1918. People were dying back then from a seemingly passing illness, but sly and savage altogether, called in the end Spanish flu or disease because it first appeared in the country of Spain.” (*Unirea Poporului*, no. 3, 1927, 5)

Treatment...

What could the doctors offer and what was the medicine provided to the patient sick with the Spanish flu considering the fact that the first

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antiviral drugs appeared around 1960s? The best treatment used by the doctors was the prevention. In order to spare the population from flu complications, the doctors together with priests and various publications tried a small information campaign. Dr. Vasile Hâncu advised the readers of the *Unirea* periodical on what to do against the flu. According to him,

> "the most important thing is cleanliness; the second is good, clean and adequate food; the third one is to stay away from too much fatigue, from gathering in ill-favored places, avoiding cold feet, perspiration, and sudden cold, unwashed and unripe fruit dirtied often by insects and especially dirty water flies which contribute the most to the spread of infectious diseases... Oftentimes paper money are a real cause of infection. Polluted air, fleas, etc. The house must be kept clean and painted. The fence, the earth, the gate must all be spattered with whitewash. The kitchen, the dishes, the objects we use every day in the kitchen and at the table. The hands must always be washed with water and soap before eating and after going to the toilet, etc." (Hâncu, 1918c, 4)

In November 1918, in full pandemic, the bishop Miron Cristea contributed to spreading the prophylactic information. He addressed the Clergy from the diocese of Caransebeş through a disposition advising the priests to read to the parishioners during the next service some medical advice, including emphasizing the importance of washing the hands, rinsing the mouth with tea (especially elderflower tea), the isolation of the sick person, and cleaning the house in order to fight against the terrible plight of the Spanish flu (*Foaia Diecezană*, no. 44, 1918, 4).

Also during the pandemic, in December 1918, Gavril Todică hoped to bring awareness to the general population through literacy, writing full of hope in the *Liberatea* newspaper:

> "our future will be better from the very beginning because we will have more Romanian schools where the children of the plowman will not torment themselves learning Hungarian but other more useful things in life. The first thing they will learn is how to keep one's health and hygiene...
>
> Even in our days, the Spanish flu haunts the entire country, killing more people that the war. In many places die both mother, father, and children. Entire families are wiped out.
>
> Well, we could easily get rid of this illness which is not exactly severe, but is very dangerous, if people would know what isolation means (isolating the sick person from the healthy one) and if they would adhere to its requirements." (Todică, 1918, 3)

Altogether we can summarize the imagined prophylactic measures to hygiene, adequate nutrition, awareness, and isolation. After contacting the illness there was not much else to do. The doctor Vasile Hâncu recommended immediately visiting the doctor, and in localities where the doctor was unavailable to

> "find a considerable amount of bitter salt and aspirin powder - and if someone feels ill to administer to them a spoon of bitter salt dissolved in a glass of water and half an hour later to take an aspirin - approximately three 1/2 grams of aspirin a day and if they have a fever to apply immediately a poultice around the chest area every two hours with a towel dipped in cold water and eat/drink only milk. They should not leave the house for 10 days even if they got better." (Hâncu, 1918c, 4)

In order to treat the disease, the most used drugs were aspirin and pyramidon. A press briefing of the National Romanian Council, Caransebeş section, mentions the dosage of aspirin used in treatment. Old people used to receive four portions of powder aspirin, half a gram every two hours. Children aged between two and ten years old got half of the adult dosage and those aged 10 to 15 a third of the dosage. Priessnitz poultice was used together with aspirin as well as different types of tea and moderate quantities of wine combined with water most of the time. According to a research done by doctor Karen Starko in 2019, big dosages of aspirin would have produced several poisonings that could have contributed to a sizable amount of flu victims. But in the Romanian space, lacking in aspirin, this hypothesis can be disproved. A more plausible poisoning might be an alcohol one because "people don't let themselves be caught in it, but prefer to keep it at bay with garlic and plum brandy."(Uroianul, 1927, 2)

In addition to this modest combination of modern medicine and popular pharmacopoeia, we can also find in the press of those times commercials for some "miracle" medicine. One of the examples is the Antispanish powder[7] that promised to be the best shield against the Spanish virus. The price of this medicine was four crowns and could be found

[7] See *Fig. 2.*

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at the pharmacist Cornel Demeter from Orăștie. Before coming up with this anti-flu medicine, some research showed that the pharmacist used to be specialized in treating animals[8]. It is highly possible that he only found a new way to fill his pockets alongside with the appearance of the Spanish flu.

Considering the means used to fight off the Spanish flu, we could paraphrase the writer Albert Camus by saying that if Spanish flu hadn't stopped by itself, it wouldn't have been vanquished through the taken measures (Camus, 2019, 68). The doctors and the medical science were powerless to stop the illness and their powerlessness was humiliating.

Conclusions

The Spanish flu was a reality of the 1918-1920s that affected the Romanian space. Its overlap with the First World War, respectively the Great Union, overshadowed it. It is much more interesting for the collective mentality the exposure to a war that had one clear winner than to an illness where there have been only losers.

The illness met in the Romanian space a population already decimated by other illnesses such as camp fever, tuberculosis, and seasonal flu, a population weakened by hunger, with an acute lack of doctors and drugs, a population willing to believe several healers rather than medical sciences. Doctors such as Vasile Hâncu and Alexe Sulică tried to bring awareness to the population of the efficiency of the prophylactic measures, of the danger that the illness presents, and at the same time offer possible treatments. The Orthodox Church as well as certain periodical publications tried to replace the doctors in this particular situation.

The lack of official statistics on the number of those infected or deceased is not an argument for claiming the flu din not exist. The doctors' struggles, the closing of the schools, the care of the authorities on the Central National Romanian Council, the negative growth rate in certain cities, the high number of deaths just at the end of the pandemic, the hysteria brought by a new wave of flu in 1927 are all testimony to the fact that the pandemic was a real one. It is also obvious that the subject needs more time to assert itself in historiography. The process of memory is an active one where all the details have to be repeated in order to be memorized. In the current context this process seems to have been activated, but the doctors also try to find a correlation between the new virus and H1N1. The research done on Spanish flu could offer the historians a new imagine of the period, as well as possible instructions and hope to a baffled society fighting another pathogenic agent.

[8] See *Libertatea*, no. 27, 1914, 4.

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Fig. 2. Medicine against Spanish flu

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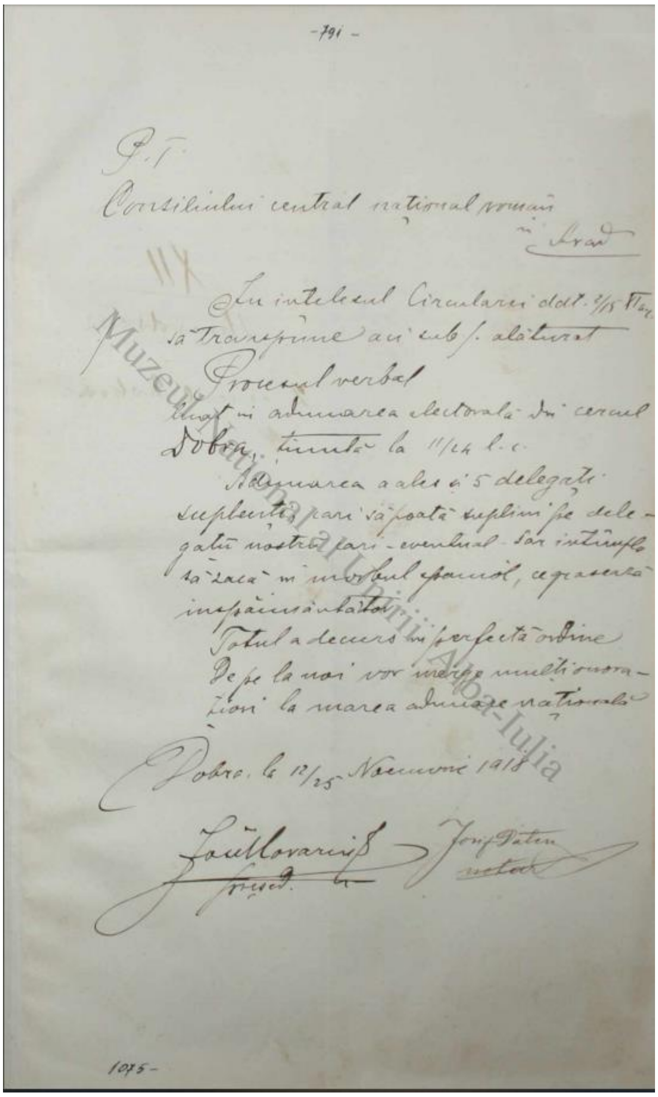

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P.T.

Consiliului central naţional român
în Arad

În înţelesul Circularei ddto 9/15 Nov.
să transpune aci sub /. alăturat
Procesul verbal
luat în adunarea electorală din cercul
Dobra, ţinută la 11/24 l.c.
Adunarea a ales şi 5 delegaţi
supleanţi, cari să poată suplini pe dele-
gaţii noştri cari - eventual - s-ar întâmpla
să zacă în morbul spaniol, ce grasează
înspăimântător.
Totul a decurs în perfectă ordine
De pe la noi vor merge mulţi onora-
ţiori la marea adunare naţională.

Dobra, la 12/25 Noemvrie 1918

[illegible] presed. Iosif [illegible] notar

1075-

Fig .1. Letter to the Romanian National Central Council in Arad

Fig. 2. Medicine against *Spanish flu*

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THE 1918 MASSACRE IN BELIŞ AS REPORTED IN TWO CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS

Tudor Vivian ȘTEFĂNESCU*

Abstract: *This study aims to analyze from a new perspective the November 1918 killing of the peasants in the Beliş village. In fact, the rebellion of the prisoners of war, concentrated in Beliș, caused an extremely violent reaction from the authorities that sent military troops to restore de order. The soldiers killed approximately forty civilians. Now, we are trying to shed new light on the topic, by emphasizing the reporting of this massacre by newspapers.*
Keywords*: Beliş village, rebellion, massacre, commission of inquiry, The Central National Romanian Council*

Rezumat:*Obiectivul acestui studiu este de a analiza, dintr-un nou punct de vedere masacrul țăranilor din satul Beliș, din Noiembrie 1918. În fapt, rebeliunea prizonierilor de război concentrați în Beliș a cauzat o extrem de violentă reacție din partea autorităților, care au trimis trupe militare pentru a restaura ordinea. Soldații au ucis aproximativ patruzeci de civili. Noi dorim să aruncăm o nouă lumină asupra subiectului, evidențiind oglindirea masacrului în ziarele contemporane.*
Cuvinte cheie*: Beliș, rebeliune, masacru, comisie de anchetă, Consiliul Național Român Central*

On 8 November 1918, in the last month of the Great War, a tragic event took place in Beliș, a small village hidden in Transylvania's Apuseni Mountains. On that day, about forty (in other sources about ninety) peasants[1] ("Kolozsvári Hirlap", No 271, Nov. 18, 1918, 3) were killed and burned by Hungarian military troops that had been sent there by the authorities in order to keep the peace. This episode was not unique; on the contrary, it resembled many other tragic incidents where civilians were killed during the war, not only in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, but also in Romania, Russia, Turkey and even in the cities beyond the great Western Front.

However, this article aims to show how the Beliș massacre was documented in the well-known contemporary newspapers Kolozsvari Hirlap and Pesti Hirlap. It is important to take into account these newspapers, since this is how we can learn about the authorities' official opinions on the tragic event. Moreover, in this way, we could suggest a different point of view than those found in the old books and monographs written eighty years ago about it.

Aurel Gociman published in 1932, at "Universul" Publishing House, the first book about the event that took place in November 1918, which was called *Mãcelul din Beliş (The Massacre in Beliș)*; the book gathered numerous interviews with survivors, peasants, and members of the commission of inquiry. Therefore, the book contains a lot of primary sources, which are very useful to the historians who would like to study the event in the future.

On the other hand, the book fits perfectly in the historical literature of that time, especially in the 1930s, when the historiography of the Great War had many far-right characteristics. From this far-right point of view, Gociman condemned the Hungarians for their atrocities. From 30` to the present day, the work of Gociman has been the only history book exclusively dedicated to the event from Beliș.

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[1] Newspaper "Kolozsvári Hirlap", No 271, November 18, (1918), pp.3: *„[...] Eppen most telefonálták, hogy a Jősika-telepen egy ilyen magyar csapat 91 románt lelőtt"* (I just communicated by telephone that in the Beliș village a Hungarian military detachment killed ninety one Romanians).
On the other hand Aurel Gociman says that 40 people were killed. Gociman, 1995, Gociman Aurel, *Măcelul de la Beliș din 1918*, Cluj-Napoca, Clusium Publishing House, (1995), p. 16-19

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In 1918 violent revolutionary movements began in the capitals of three of the belligerent empires. On what concerns the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the monarchy was on the verge of internal collapse as a consequence of the economic crisis and the food shortage in cities.[2] (Mick, 2014, 181). During the summer and fall of 1918 the military disaster on the Italian front and the radicalization of the national movements have led to the dissolution of the Empire. The gradual disintegration of the imperial institutions created a political vacuum in the provinces of the Empire and the central authority was replaced by the local authorities. (Mick, 2014, 184) This turbulent transition created the perfect context for the outbreak of social violence in Hungary, including Transylvania.

Historian Mihai-Octavian Groza reported that, in Transylvania, the violent component of the revolution against the authorities has been reflected in Memoirs. Local notaries, gendarmes (including Romanians) and Hungarian landowners were victims of the revolutionary violence of the people (most of them peasants). Therefore, the Beliș massacre is a segment in a long line of violence and crimes. (Bârlea 2004, 265-279; Groza, 2016, 159-169)[3].

In November 1918, Janos Urmanczy, the landowner of the Beliș village, left his land in the Apuseni Mountains and travelled to Budapest to meet his brother, Nandor Urmanczy, who was deputy in the Hungarian parliament. (Oliver, 2011, 7-10).

The social situation of the Beliș villagers had worsened at the end of the war. From what Urmanczy said, we know that he had many administrative problems, especially concerning the workforce for the lumber mill he had built. Apart from villagers who were working there, he brought Italian, Russian and Serbian prisoners of war who were forced to work in very difficult conditions.

In the following lines, regarding the story about the people in Beliș, we do know many details from the accounts told by the villagers who had witnessed the events and spoken later to Gociman. Nevertheless, this kind of story, which is based on recollections, oral testimonies, oral tradition and legends, became very popular in the research topics of historians in the late 20th century.

According to the peasants' testimonies, a few days after Urmanczy left Beliș, the war prisoners refused to continue working and requested food from the administrator of the lumber mill. He did not comply with the requirements of the workers; subsequently, the latter rebelled, stole food, burnt the warehouse, and finally left the village. According to Gociman, one of the peasants, called Gheorghe Triff, witness of the events, confirmed that, "*They were not given food. Then they broke into the warehouse. After they took their supplies, they set fire to the warehouses and the enterprise, going everywhere. It is not true that the Romanians set the fire; our interest was to continue working at the enterprise, because we lived on it" (*Gociman, 1995, 61).

The news about the rebellion in Beliș reached the Urmanczy brothers in Budapest; they quickly asked the Hungarian Minister of War to get involved and restore the peace. The minister approved the sending of a small military detachment of 60 soldiers under the command of the officer Dietrich Antal, in order to restore the peace until the end of the peace negotiations[4]

[2] In 17 January 1918, 200.000 Viennese workers were on strike protesting against new rations of food. Mick, 2014, Mick Christoph, "1918. Endgame" In: The Cambridge History of the First World War, vol. I. Global War, ed.by Jay Winter, Charles J. Stille Professor of History, Yale University, The Editorial Committee of the International Research Centre of the Historial de la Grande Guerre, Cambridge University Press, (2014), p.160-204

[3] Those violent manifestations, called revolutionary movements in the Romanian historiography, have had many causes: the disintegration of the imperial army, the economic and food crisis. Moreover, the war had caused psychological traumas to many soldiers and officers, who returned home and rebelled against the imperial authority. For more details see: Groza, 2016, Groza Mihai-Octavian, *Dimensiunea violentă a revoluției transilvănene și bănățene de la finele Marelui Război reflectată în memoria colectivă*. In: Astra Sabiensis, No.2, (2016), pp.159-169. Also, we make reference to Bârlea 2004, Bârlea Eugenia, *Perspectiva lumii rurale asupra Primului Război Mondial*, Argonaut Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca, (2004) pp. 265-279

[4] According to the report drawn up by the commission of inquiry, officer Dietrich confessed that he had read in the newspapers from Budapest a call for a military operation in

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(Kolozsvári Hirlap, No. 268, Nov. 15, 1918, 3). The military troops were supplied with weapons from the weapons depot of the Austro-Hungarian army. The soldiers travelled by train to Cluj, and from Cluj to Călăţele, where the nearest train station to Beliș was at that time. In the village, the restoration of order turned out to be apocalyptical. Civilians were robbed, tortured, killed, and their bodies were burnt.

The echo of this massacre spread quickly. The first institution that publicly reacted to this case was the Cluj National Romanian Council; they notified the Central National Romanian Council in Arad (C.N.R.C.). This institution was in charge of negotiating with the Hungarian National Council, on the administrative organization of Transylvania. C.N.R.C. appointed immediately a Romanian-Hungarian commission to carry out an inquiry[5] (Kolozsvári Hirlap, No. 268, Nov 15, 1918, 3). Consequently, the negotiations between the Romanians and the officials from Budapest were suspended. This tense situation was quickly documented in the press. As we can see from a newspaper published in Cluj, called Kolozsvari Hirlap, the Romanian delegate of C.N.R.C., Ştefan Cicio-Pop, strongly condemned the atrocities. [6] (Kolozsvári Hirlap, No. 266, November 13, 1918, 3)

Moreover, in the interview published by the press, one of the members of the commission of inquiry offers a terrifying description of the crime scene[7] (Gociman, 1995, 56).
The suspension of negotiations drew the attention of the Hungarian government to the events from Beliș. According to the press, the Hungarian Minister of Nationalities Jászi Oszkár declared that, *"Regarding the massacre in Beliș, we have started a rigorous inquiry against Urmánczy and the gendarmes. and the guilty parties will be punished. I also told the Prime Minister Károlyi Mihály about the event, by telephone, and he was extremely upset by this atrocity*."[8] (Kolozsvári Hirláp, No. 267, 14 Nov., 1918, 3). He also expressed his concern about future negotiations with the Romanian institutions. (Kolozsvári Hirláp, No. 267, 14 Nov., 1918, 3)

On the other hand, a day later, a text was published in the Budapest newspaper "Pesti Hirlap", which downplayed the claims of Minister Jászi against the soldiers who committed the massacre: "*Arad, November 14 –*

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order to defend the Beliș village. A detachment was assembled and, thanks to the mediation of the deputy Nandor Urmánczy, the Minister of War approved the military intervention,". See: Kolozsvári Hirlap, No. 268, November 15, (1918), pp.3

[5] Kolozsvári Hirlap, No. 268, November 15, (1918), pp.3: "*A kolozsvári Nemzeti Tanács tegnup délutáni úlésén foglalkozott a jősikafalvai tőmegkivégzésekkel. A tényállásrol és annak fejleményeirol dr.Kertész Jenő a Nemzeti Tanács tagja referált, aki a román Nemzeti Tanács részéről kikkúldőtt" bizottsággal együtt kinn fárt a helyszinén"* (Yesterday afternoon, during a session, the National Council of Cluj dealt with the issue of the massacre in Beliș. The report of the case and the account of the facts were given by Kertész Jenő, board member. He, together with a commission appointed by the Romanian National Council, were at the massacre scene, where they carried out an inquiry).

[6] Kolozsvári Hirlap, No. 266, November 13, (1918), pp.3: *"A székelyekre és szászokra nézvre a legteljesebb mértékben alkalmazni akarják a Wilson-féle elveket. Azt akarjuk, hogy sem nékunk ne paranesoljanak, sem minekik. A mostani kormány is gyalázatosan viselkedik velúnk szemben. Annak a bitang Urmánczynak megengedték, hogy bátyja élete megmentésére sereget gyűjtsőn és a románokat gyilkolja*." (In the case of the Saxons and Szeklers (the Hungarian government) intends to apply the Wilsonian principles in the most practical way. We do not want them to command us, nor do we want them to command them. The current government is still behaving badly towards us. That bastard Urmánczy was allowed to gather an army to save his brother's life and kill the Romanians).

[7] The interview with Augustin Pordea, a member of the CNRC commission of inquiry, was published also by Gociman in his book. He says, "We left Cluj by car… As we approached Beliș, we met fewer and fewer people on the road. After we left the commune of Călăţele, the whole region seemed deserted. I never met a man all the way to Beliș, about 30 km. […] We left the castle to make an investigation. In a pit near the bridge, the embers were still flickering, and smoke could be seen. We were told that it was the place where the factory's potato store was located, which had also been set on fire and burned to the ground. A heavy annoying odor savagely spread around. As we approached, we saw a fierce spectacle. In the ashes, on the fire that blinked slowly during the rainy beginning of winter, I saw several bodies. I could not figure out how many they were… It was such a gloomy picture that it shocked us […] The bodies were stacked on top of each other in such a way that they looked like a pile of sleepers. They were probably placed so that the flame could penetrate more easily." Gociman (1995), p.56

[8] Kolozsvári Hirláp, No. 267, 14 November, (1918), pp.3 ,*A jösikafalvai vérengzések dolgában Urmánczy Janos és a csendőrők ellen a legszigorubb viszgálatot inditottam és a búnősők meg fognak lakolni. Telefonon jelentettem az esetet Karolyi Mihály miniszterelnőknek is, aki mélyen felháborodott a gaztett ellen"*.

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The Joint Commission of the representatives from the Hungarian National Council and the Cluj Romanian National Council have drawn up an official report to Minister Jászi about the events in Beliş. The official statement is the following one: Mr. Pordea and Poruţiu were in Beliş, one officer at a time, and they found that the Hungarian army had operated in the most appropriate way […] The joint commission could not find anything against the Hungarian army […] The Hungarian army did fire, but this only happened because late in the evening they were attacked by an armed mob […] The robbers arrested by the army were handed over to the gendarmerie, so that it could order legal action against them"[9](Gociman, 1995, 55). Even more, Nandor Urmanczy publicly criticized the opinion of the Minister Jászi and his allegations regarding the atrocities[10] (Gociman, 1995, 31).

However, how could we define the Hungarian government's official position concerning this event? It is certain that Minister Jászi recognized the tragedy. Moreover, the subsequent disarmament of Dietrich's troops and his trial in the military tribunal highlight a conciliatory attitude of the Budapest officials. It is true that the Budapest government led by Károlyi Mihály was interested in the continued negotiations with the Romanian institutions, in order to achieve a higher political goal: to establish a Hungarian Republic that incorporated Transylvania and other territories inhabited by the Slovak and Serbian nations. However, this political target would have been achieved only by dialogue and peaceful negotiations.

Regarding Dietrich's troops, they were disarmed even before the spring of 1919, when the authorities, together with the French general Petain, visited Beliş village. The results of the juridical inquiry convinced the French general to approve the military offensive of the Romanian armies (Gociman, 1996, 267) to the Apuseni Mountains and then further to the Tisza River. At that time, France was coordinating the military operations in the region of Banat, between Serbia and Hungary. Also, there are some Hungarian studies that share the same perspective: Romanian press and Romanian institutions have used the story of this tragic event from Belis for political goals: their purpose was to influence the international authorities (especially France) to legitimize the military offensive of Romanian army in Transylvania in 1919. (Oliver, 2011, 7-9).

Regarding the trial of Officer Dietrich, we do not have many details about it for the time being. We do know that he was taken in front of the military tribunal. (Kolozsvári Hirlap, no. 268, Nov. 15, 1918, 3). According to the law, he was condemned for killing civilians. At this point, we have to take into consideration the liberal constitution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, promulgated by Emperor Franz Joseph on 21 December 1867. As to Hungary, a modern criminal code was adopted in 1878. Even though it was not a very liberal code, it defended multiple rights and freedoms, such as the inviolability of home, personal freedom and right to life[11].(Cieger, 2019, 123-140)

[9] Pesti Hirlap, No. 256, November 15, (1918), text published in the book *Măcelul din Beliş*, Gociman, (1995) p. 55. Here we suggest that Gociman highlighted the articles of the newspaper "Pesti Hirlap" in which the actions of Hungarian troops were defended, in order to support the idea of a violent Hungarian far right wing. It is also likely that the article quoted in "Pesti Hirlap" was written by the Hungarian radical wing.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 31. Aurel Gociman emphasized how Nandor Urmanczy and the Hungarian political authorities downplayed, ignored or denied the massacre. Obviously, his purpose was to condemn the Hungarian Government. Anyway, in our opinion, it is related to the far right political interpretation of Gociman. Therefore, we are trying to select from his work especially the primary sources, like the interviews with peasants and the investigators of the killings.

[11] The constitution of Franz Joseph established the equality in front of the law, the inviolability of private property, the right to life and human dignity. Taking into account its liberal characteristics, the constitution of 1867 was inspired by the great principles of the Enlightenment and Josephinism that have shaped the history of the imperial law since the 18th century.

On the other hand, after 1867 the political Hungarian elite focused on protecting the authority of the new Hungarian central government. For this reason, the Hungarian criminal code reinforced the authority of the state and restricted some individual rights of the citizens. The debate around the capital punishment and corporal punishment at the end of the 19th century is interesting. For additional details about the Hungarian modern codes, see the study of Cieger, 2019. András Cieger, "Reform, Fever and Disillusionment: Constitutional Codification Fiascos of the Hungarian Liberals After the Settlement of 1867". In: A History of

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On 16 November 1918, the Hungarian People's Republic was proclaimed, but the government continued to uphold the old constitutional acts. Therefore, going back to the trial of Dietrich Antal, we conclude by saying that, in our opinion, he was indeed convicted for the murder of innocent people, in accordance with the law.

Shortly after the union of Transylvania with the Kingdom of Romania, the first monument in Beliș for the commemoration of the victims was built in 1920. Also, in 1923, a wayside cross was erected on the site where the fire had once been placed. The local authority decided to organize an annual commemoration of the dead.
After the Second World War and the establishment of the communist regime, the Romanian authorities did not organize special commemorations of the event. The only thing to remember is the reconstruction of a wayside cross in the center of the village, near the church, in the period when the whole village was moved from the valley to the top of the mountain, in the 1970s.

Hungarian Constitution. Law, Government and Political Culture in Central Europe, (2019), pp.123-140.

After the Revolution of 1989, a new commemorative monument was built in Beliș. It was consecrated on 12 October 1996, in the presence of His Eminence Bartholomew Ananias and the Prefect Ioan Rus (Tripon, 2002, 68). In 30 June 2020 the Parliament adopted a law on the importance of remembrance of Romanian martyrs including the people massacred in Belis. According to the law, the day of 8 November is Day of Commemoration[12].

To conclude, we may say that Hungarian press from 1918 offers different perspectives on the massacre in Beliș. This is an anticipated conclusion, taking into consideration the political instability and political tensions in Transylvania. However, the massacre was condemned by the authorities as a crime and the ethnic issue was not taken into consideration too much.

[12] It is very important to point out the impartial and neutral characteristics of the legal text. There is no reference to the WWI or other ethnic issues. For more details, the text of the law 138/2020 is published online https://lege5.ro/Gratuit/gm3tsnjxgy2q/legea-nr-138-2020-pentru-declararea-personajelor-istorice-horea-closca-si-crisan-martiri-si-eroi-ai-natiunii-romane-si-pentru-comemorarea-la-data-de-8-noiembrie-a-martirilor-romani-de-la-belis

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Figure 1. Page from the newspaper Kolozsvári Hirlap, No. 268, November 15, 1918, which describes the massacre in Beliș.

Figure 2. Minister Oskár Jászi. Source of the picture: https://ro.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oszk%C3%A1r_J%C3%A1szi#/media/Fi%C8%99ier:J%C3%A1sziOszk%C3%A1r.jpg

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Kedvező kilátások mellett folynak az aradi tárgyalások

A jósikafalvai vérfürdő

Tömegkivégzést rendezett egy százados
A hullákat máglyán égették el

Az utolsó

Kolozsvári Hírlap

AMBRA-CREM

EMKE-DROGERIA
KOLOZSVÁR

Figure 1

Figure 2

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CONSTRUCTION, AFFIRMATION AND LONGEVITY OF A ROMANIAN MYTH: ECATERINA TEODOROIU. THE ROLE OF THE HISTORICAL FILM

Mihaela GRANCEA*
Olga GRĂDINARU**

Abstract: *Prominent figure in the Romanian heroic pantheon, Officer Ecaterina Teodoroiu has been the focus of both historians and directors. Several feature films are dedicated to this heroine. Each historical film retains specific mythologizing patterns and contributes to the construction, affirmation and preservation of the myth of a selfless maiden who fell on the battlefield for the achievement of the national ideal. The interwar Romanian society shaped the figure of Ecaterina Teodoroiu as linked to the myth of the virgin from Jiu and the image of compassionate Queen Marie. The myth of the heroine is evident in Dinu Cocea's and Sergiu Nicolescu's films, associated with the French romantic image of the sacrificing virgin. The study aims at revealing the manner in which Ecaterina Teodoroiu is transfigured and subjected to modifying processes in order to fit in the Romanian pantheon of sacrificing heroines throughout the century.*
Keywords: *Ecaterina Teodoroiu, historical films, national pantheon, collective memory, artistic representations*

Rezumat: *Figură marcantă a panteonului eroic românesc, ofițerul Ecaterina Teodoroiu a fost de-a lungul timpului în atenția istoricilor și a regizorilor, deopotrivă. Atenția ne este îndreptată asupra ceor trei filme dedicate eroinei. Fiecare dintre filmele analizate imprimă eroinei tipare mitologizante specifice epocii în care a fost turnat și contirbuie la construirea, afirmarea și păstrarea mitului fecioarei sacrificiale care a căzut pe câmpul de luptă întru realizarea idealului național. Societatea interbelică românească a conturat figura Ecaterinei Teodoroiu în conexiune cu mitul virginei de la Jiu și cu imaginea milostivă a Reginei Maria. Mitul eroinei, asociat cu imaginea romantică de sorginte franceză a virginei sacrificiale, apare evident în filmele lui Dinu Cocea și Sergiu Nicolaescu. Scopul acestui studiu este de a evidenția modul în care Ecaterina Teodoroiu este transfigurată și supusă unui process modelator pentru a se integra panteonului românesc a eroinelor jertfitoare de-a lungul unui secol.*
Cuvinte cheie: *Ecaterina Teodoroiu, filme istorice, panteon național, memorie colectivă, reprezentări plastice*

Significance of the myth[1]

Ecaterina Teodoroiu[2] became rapidly a role model for the Romanian identity, a symbol for national unity and heroism due to the potential of mythological capital. Based on the amount of official discourse in the press of the period and memoirs, arts and films, we admit that this is indeed a long-lived myth. The heroine is a representative character for the Romanian identity, a symbol of the struggle for the national unity. The starting point of its construction has been during the heroine's death, rooted in the nationalist fervour after the Great War and Romanian Unification (Cioroianu 2018).

The essence of a popular modern sermon from the period (Iatho 1920, 17-18) would shed light onto this mythological construction. According to the

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[1] The article develops a previously published paper - Grancea, Grădinaru 2020, 87-101.

[2] The heroine's name suffered some alterations: from Cătălina Toderoiu (see also Dumbrăveanu *et al.* 2018, 44) to Ecaterina Teodoroiu (with the variants Toderoiu, Teodoroiu, Toderiu, Teodoriu). Born on 14/26 January 1894 in Vădeni, Gorj (probably with 5 brothers and 2 sisters), she was from modest background, but she was supported in gymnasium in Bucharest by a rich benefactor from the region. She was to become a teacher. During her stay in Bucharest she became part of the "Bucur" cohort of scouts in 1913. Cătălina came home shortly before the first Jiu battle; she took part in defending the city as a scout (in "Tudor" cohort) and as a nurse. Then she followed her brother Nicolae on the front. After his death she fought as a volunteer soldier on the Oltenia front. After escaping the German captivity, she was wounded at the battle of Filiași then evicted from hospital to hospital to Iași (Chirițescu 2018, 135-137). Before the offensive of the summer 1917 she is decorated and obtains the honorific status of second lieutenant. She refused to settle in the quiet military life and joined the battles. Cătălina promised to become a nurse after the battle of Muncelu but she died in August 22/3 September, 1917 in the confrontations of the Battle of Mărășești.

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text, the worship of heroes contains a religious feeling: "the human heroism being similar to Christ's sacrifice, one of the most powerful revelations of God in people. As such, peoples placed heroes among the gods. That supposed a profound gratitude for their saving deeds (eschatological). However, the heroic power, the heroic courage imposes unwillingly a homage that becomes worship".

The discourse about the heroine from Jiu is present in the press throughout the 1919-1941 period. It becomes ardent, with hilarious accents in the speeches held by officials, on the occasion of commemorating Ecaterina in post-war festive funeral. Heroine's statue is unveiled in Slatina on 7 June 1925, in the presence of Queen Marie and priest D. Brumușescu from Mierlești-Olt, former mobilized in regiment 43/59 Olt. Other articles and fragments of memoirs were published in journals *Ilustraţiunea română, Neamul românesc, Carpaţii, Cultul eroilor noştri, Eroii neamului, Frontul Mărăşeşti, România militară, Universul, Vitejii ţărei* etc.

Starting of 1921 till the anti-Soviet war of 1940 the journals *Cultul eroilor, Frontul Mărășești, Revista Militară*, legionary propaganda literature and the daily press presented the national funerals[3] of the heroine, the testimonies of those who had fought along her side, and information regarding the monuments dedicated to her throughout the country. The Romanian state delineated a cultural and legislative system that ensured the foundation for the commemorative culture referring the heroes of the Great War. Thus, the Society „Mormintele eroilor căzuţi în război"[4] ("Tombs of Heroes Fallen in War") was founded in 1919, under the patronage of Queen Marie, with the headquarters in Bucharest, Cercul Militar and then at Palatul Mitropolitan from 1921. The informative bulletin[5] of this society was entitled *Cultul Eroilor noştri* between 1920-1925; during 1925-1927, the publication was called *Cultul Eroilor*. Afterwards, until 1936, the journal was entitled *România Eroică*. The day for celebrating the war heroes was set in 1920 to be the religious day of Ascension. Moreover, three years later, following the model of French commemorative culture, there were ceremonies concerning the remains of the Unknown Soldiers brought to Bucharest.[6] In line with this direction, the most valuable monument dedicated to the Heroine from Jiu remains the mausoleum that shelters her remains. The monument was built in 1936 by de Miliţa Pătraşcu, the apprentice of the great sculptor Constantin Brâncuşi.[7]

The biographical books fictionalised her birth and childhood, cleansing her youth of any ordinary aspect, transfiguring her death (Manoliu, 1940, 2016). Her myth was powerfully reactivated to encourage the Romanians after 1940, the year of the national disaster (see the territorial losses in autumn of that year of Bessarabia, Hertza region, North of Bukovina, Northern Transylvania and Southern Dobrudja). The soldiers were thus enlivened by the desire to recover the lost territories in the war. Even during the Communist

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[3] She was buried in the Vrancea county. Four years later, the state authorities decided to move her remains in Tîrgu Jiu and to erect a monument. The press, especially Cultul Eroilor journal described the impressive funerary procession at Muncelu, Focșani, as well as the enthusiasm and veneration of the civilians. In Gara de Nord, the funerary wagon was covered in flowers, dressed in greenery and covered with the national flag. The procession was greeted by the Bucharest officials and numerous inhabitants of the capital. The funerary procession walked on the streets of the city (Butter 1921, 49-52). On the 9th of June 1921, on the occasion of celebrating the centenary Tudor Vladimirescu, the remains of the heroine were brought to Tîrgu Jiu. The funerary ceremony proved that there was a commemorative tradition in Romania and that there was a collective identification of Ecaterina Teodoroiu. The people assumed the symbol.

[4] The society was supported by the traditional churches and the army with the help of fundraising until the financial state support was assigned by the Ministry of Finances. On May 31, 1927 the name of the society was changed to Society "Cultul Eroilor"; it functioned under this name until July 27, 1940 when it was changed to "Așezământul Regina Maria pentru Cultul Eroilor". The society was recognized as juridical on September 12, 1919; it came under the patronage of the Ministry of War in 1920 and under the patronage of the Romanian Orthodox Church and the Ministry of National Defense starting of 1921. According to the Decree-law no. 1693 of 1920, published in Monitorul Oficial no. 20 in April 29, 1920, the necessary expropriation of land for founding „places of memory" (military cemeteries for the fallen and war invalids, commemorating edifices, parks and access ways for commemorative spaces in the main places of war battles) was established.

[5] The publication was of nationalist character; this is why there were discounts on subscriptions for army, schools, libraries and parishes. Articles about recovery of fallen soldiers' remains, founding, taking care of military tombs within the country and abroad were published here.

[6] The place for the tomb was established in the Park Carol I and the earthly remains of the hero were chosen by the pupil Amilcar Săndulescu from Mădulari, Vâlcea county, at Mărăşeşti, on 17 May1923.

[7] The monument is made of Italian travertine and has the form of a sarcophagus set on a pedestal with three steps. Scenes from Ecaterina's life – childhood, scout years, war scenes and death - are sculptured on the monument of great dimensions (2,90 metres and 1,60 metred, 2,10 metres height). The ends of the sarcophagus are represented by women dressed in national costume who hold in their hands laurel crowns, symbol of eternal glory.

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period, starting of 1959, Ecaterina Teodoroiu's myth regains its national-militant status in fictional works and monographs (Tăutu, 1959, 1977; Grozea, 1967; Mihalcea, Grozea, 1978.) on the occasion of celebrating the centenary of the Great Union, books and fragments from memoirs are dedicated to the warrior Ecaterina, referring to her military deeds and human behaviour. These are attempts to reignite the interwar interest for Ecaterina Teodoroiu as a symbolic/mythological character, equal to the Queen Marie in the national pantheon of the Romanian collective memory (see especially Dumbrăvescu et al. 2018). On the occasion of the centenary of the Great Union the warrior woman is celebrated in books confirm her place in the national pantheon, near the Queen Marie.

The films have kept her memory though in many cases unconvincing. There are four feature films dedicated to her – two from the interwar period, from the national-communist era and from the first post-communist decade where Ecaterina Teodoroiu is evoked as voluntary soldier and then officer. Several Romanian feature films from different historical periods are dedicated to this soldier-heroine, an exception on the fronts of the Great War[8]: *Ecaterina Teodoroiu. Heroine from Jiu* (directed by Niculescu-Brună, 1931), *Ecaterina Teodoroiu* (directed by Dinu Cocea, 1978) and *The Death Triangle* (directed by Sergiu Nicolaescu, 1999). There is only one recent documentary attempt - *Ecaterina Teodoroiu, the Heroine of the Romanian People* (directed by Dorin Brozba, 2017). We analysed the mutations in the heroine's process of mythologization, pointing out the status of emasculated heroine in the interwar film, the frail femininity in the national-communist production and the androgynous warrior in the post-communist film in our recently published study (Grancea, Grădinaru 2020, 87-101).

Cătălina was an authentic heroine, but the most long-lived Romanian myth regarding the Great War was built around her personality. That may be the reason for which the Romanian society has kept her in its national pantheon while modifying her image according to the traditional image of the warrior woman and the ideological requests of the era. Inter-war intellectuals and political men (especially Francophiles) have seen her in the hypostasis of Joan of Arc, the sacrificial maiden (Bucur 2000, 30-56)[9]. That is due to the fact that emancipated woman was not quite favoured in the Romanian society dominated by traditional standards (even misogynist, given the fact that women were granted the right to vote by the 1938 Constitution, but it was not respected).

The mentioned cultural products emasculated Cătălina[10] and presented her devoid of femininity. For example, the same image of warrior-maiden was the role-model for legionary women from the organization "Cetățuia Ecaterina Teodoroiu". Her courage and fearless involvement in the battles served as an example for young women in the inter-war period.For example, she was the role model, the maiden warrior and sacrificial figure for the legionary women (Nicolescu 1932, 4).

In the films from the Communist period, when the process of women's emancipation was done in a theoretical and limited manner, Romanian directors tried to confer Cătălina femininity. But they suffocated her portrait in masculine traditional stereotypes regarding femininity. They constructed the image of a fragile and implausible woman as a war hero. If we read the notes of this woman we may suggest that she was an authentic warrior on the front who kept a diary in the moments of silence in the trenches. She was

[8] Among other well-known cases is Flora Sandes (1876-1956), the only woman from the UK to fight during the First World War; she was corporal in the Serbian Army and after being wounded she was awarded the highest military distinction and was named sergeant-major. She was named "Joanne d'Arc of Serbia", but was forgotten after the war. Maria Bochkariova (1889-1920) found the famous "Battalions of Death" with the support of Kerensky and feminist Emily Pankhurst in February 1917. She was executed in 1920 by the Bolsheviks (see the recent Russian TV-series *Battalion*, 2016, directed by D. Meskhiev). We must appreciate that Ecaterina Teodoroiu has benefited of an authentic cult (Atwood 2015: chapter III).

[9] The French-German silent film *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (directed by Carl Theodor Dreyer, 1928) might have contributed to the popular comparison of European war heroines with Joan of Arc in the inter-war period.

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noting down episodes of conflict and the number of adversaries killed in the battle (Rădulescu-Marador 1921)[11]. The dramatic socio-political and axiological rupture provoked by Communism affected the patrimonial calues of the Great War. Other heroes of the conflict have been forgotten – scouts/teenagers who died on the front of Oltenia, officers and soldiers who fell heroically int he battles of the war. But the main victim of these ommissions was the royal family, especially Queen Marie. During the war and in the interwar period, the Queen was surrounded by a fervent cult. Communism put an end to this collective memory. Only the image of Cătălina as an expression of the popular patriotism survived, but frequently modified.

Ecaterina Teodoroiu in the interwar film. A fragmentary portrait

In a relatively stable geopolitical European background, the film production manifests constant interest for war stories (particularly war dramas) after the most important peace treaties were signed. In Romania, Serviciul Foto-Aerian al Armatei Române (S.F.C.A.R.) (Photo-Aerial Service of Romanian Army) produced documentary films; there were cca 1,200 metres of negative with images from the Romanian front, as well as foreign positive footages (see especially the operator Jean Ercole – Gheorghiu-Cernat 1983, 271). Given the background of a certain experience in filming scenes of the front, the first film dedicated to Ecaterina is a “recovered documentary” produced by S.F.C.A.R. in collaboration with Societatea “Mormintele Eroilor Căzuți în Război.”

Under these circumstances, the film *Ecaterina Teodoroiu* (1921), directed by Nicolae Barbelian, with actress Marietta Rareș in the role of the main heroine, was produced in Brașov. The same producers shot in the same year the film *Evocațiuni istorice/ Historical Evocations* – a montage of newsreels where there were supposedly images about the sacrifice of the young Cătălina (Gheorghiu-Cernat 1983, 272). Nicolae Barbelian’s film may have attracted audience due to the fact that the heroine became famous in the Romanian society, undergoing a process of heroization and mythologizing. The year of her national funerals generated unprecedented collective enthusiasm up to the level of worship[12]. In our opinion, the film is a montage of scenes and sequences of the area of newsreels/ war diary, produced by S.F.C.A.R. (see images with King Ferdinand on the front, with Queen Marie in the hospitals, images with war generals as Constantin Prezan and Alexandru Averescu). In fact, the film is the first attempt to present the Romanian front to the large audience. Few sequences were preserved out of thousands of filmed metres; they were used later in the film *Ecaterina Teodoroiu* in 1930 (launched in 1931).

After such a cultural demarche, S.F.C.A.R. and other film producers shot two feature films that combined the episodes of love affair with sequences of war taken from front diaries. This is the case of the films *Datorie și sacrifiu*[13] *(Duty and Sacrifice)* and *Vitejii Neamului*[14] *(Vailants of the People)* – films about the image of the sacrificial hero, condemning cowardice on the battlefield and defection (see Brânz 2016, 9-15). Rivalries for a heart of a girl between two brothers or villagers constitute the plot of the films, following the fashionable melodramatic films of the period. But in times of war simple rivalries shift the destiny towards immorality and betrayal, while the winner benefits from the social approval as a hero and the girl’s heart.

The 1930 film about our heroine has not been preserved entirely. Produced by Soremar, society specialised in newsreels, it was directed by Ion Niculescu-Brună, *Ecaterina Teodoroiu* (1930),

[11] Heroine’s memoirs consisted in several edited pages, according to the statements of the chief editor and owner of the publication *Viitorul Țării*. The pages were written in 1917, before the great military offensives, when Cătălina was sleeping for several nights on the couch of the newspaper’s Headquarters, given the lack of sleeping arrangements in Iași. Her notes were published by N. Rădulescu-Marador four years later, in the 4th page of the number 101-102/January 1921 in *Viitorul Țării*. The occasion was bringing the remains of the heroine from Moldova to her birthplace. *Apud* Marian Moșneagu https://www.historia.ro/sectiune/portret/articol/legenda-ecaterinei-teodoroiu-ce-spun-arhivele-militare (Accessed on 5 January 2019).

[12] She was compared to the lotus of the Buddhist revelation, an archangel of light in some public discourses (see Butter 1921, 51-52 reproducing George Lungulescu’s speech, member of Societatea „Mormintele Eroilor Căzuți în Război”, public servant who held his speech when greeting the funerary wagon train in Bucharest).

[13] *Datorie şi sacrificiu* (directed by Ion Şahighian, 1925). Half of the film was lost. See the plot of the film http://aarc.ro/newfilm/film/datorie-si-sacrificiu-1925

[14] *Vitejii Neamului* (directed by Ghiță Popescu, Eftimie Vasilescu; filmed in 1926, premiered in 1927). The film used war film diaries and one tragic episode of bombing a Bucharest school by the German Graf Zeppelin, but the broadcast of the film stopped as a result of a diplomatic conflict (the images were offensive for Germans) and the subsequent version of the film cut the problematic scenes.

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casting Felicia Frunză în the role of Ecaterina. It is what we call "artistic documentary" – a blend of a biographic film and war drama, as it contains footages from the war period. Although analysed by film critics from national-communism, their analysis fails to point out the chaotic montage of the film. Călin Căliman mentions the enthusiastic inter-war reception of the film without mentioning its lost parts and its repeated montage with recovered pieces from the National Archives of Film in an unknown period (Căliman 2000, 78-79). Even a meritorious overview of the war film evades these aspects (Gheorghiu-Cernat 1983, 275-277). Another recent book on the main accomplishments of the Romanian film ignores this film, and focuses on the aforementioned *Datorie și sacrificiu* instead (Ilieșiu 2013, 21-23).

From the historical accuracy viewpoint, the second part of the film has inadvertences regarding the chronological order of events serving as the background for Ecaterina's life story. We suspect that some critics could have just taken over narratives of the production and of the press for the interwar period, compiling the information without paying much attention to the film. As a result, it is claimed that Queen Marie meets Ecaterina Teodoroiu in a hospital in Bucharest and awards her a medal, while the fragment is from the 1921 film and there is no Ecaterina there. On the other hand, Ecaterina is wounded in Filiași, in Gorj county, Oltenia during the second battle of Jiu in autumn 1916[15], precisely where the preserved film ends abruptly.

Ecaterina Teodoroiu received several medals for exceptional heroic deeds during the war: Golden Medal "Scout Virtue"; Medal "Military Virtue" of war, 2nd category for bravery and devotion on the battlefield, March 10, 1917, and decorated with the honorific grade of second lieutenant by the royal house. She fought in regiment 18 infantry starting of 16 October 1917. Ecaterina was taken prisoner at Cărbunești, but escaped and later her both legs were wounded by a shell on November 6, 1916. On 23 January 1917 she became commander of a platoon, 7th military company, under the command of Mănoiu. The flawed montage of the 1931 film suggests that the heroine was decorated in 1916, which contradicts all historical facts. One might wonder if the tricky montage is due to an unreliable documentation or the mix of sequences from the 1916 and 1917 campaigns. In our opinion, the film was re-montaged later after probably a half of the film was lost.

The choice of the actress (Felicia Frunză) is typical for the attempt of masculinization. This process is supported by the press of that period and by fragments of war memoirs published immediately after the war. The actress (sturdy physical constitution and energetic traits seems like an Amazon lacking any feminine features) is a contradictory image when compared to the photographs of Ecaterina - a young woman with a melancholic or severe air, a discrete beauty. The heroine's masculinization evident in this film especially in the domestic scenes where she hitches up the horses is in contradiction with the real portrait of Ecaterina Teodoroiu.

The trigger of the plot or Ecaterina's motivation to fight on the front is her brother's death (in relative agreement with the real facts). The motives of the hero's burial and passing the baton (younger sister dresses her brother's military uniform) are suggestive scenes. In reality, a heroine's letter is preserved, where she asks for the permission to fight as a soldier-volunteer to avenge the death of her four brothers killed on the front. However, the military archives do not support this claim with information about her brothers.

Ecaterina's fiancé George Manoiu is not present in the film. Fiancé's absence is in line with the official discourse about the heroine, as it was believed that only amorous abstinence would characterize patriotic fearless women. The romantic image of the young maiden was attached to Ecaterina, following the French example of Jeanne d'Arc thus conserving her status of victim and sacrifice for the collective good, for the victory.

While some sequences of the film focus on Queen Marie visiting a hospital, characterized by compassion, the scenes of Ecaterina searching for

[15] Following the historical events, Ecaterina was taken prisoner in Cărbunești, another town from Gorj, escaped and offered valuable information contributing to the destruction of a German armoured tank, then being gravely wounded in Filiași and transported from hospital to hospital to Iasi. She was decorated in March 1917 by the scout organization with golden „Virtutea cercetășească" and then with 2nd class „Virtutea militară" by royal decree. She was visited by Queen Marie who awarded her. Due to the faulty chronological line, the film suggests that Ecaterina was awarded in 1916. This may be the result of sloppy documentation, montage mistakes that mixed the sequences from the 1916 and 1917 campaigns, or the need of emotional impact on the viewer. The remains of the film were re-montaged later after the loss of probably a half of the original film.

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her brother on the front seem ridiculous. But the sequences with the heroine searching for her Nicolae's body on the battlefield dressed as a scout seem not that inspired after all. She passes no man's land area, with clumsy movements while no one shoots and upon finding the body of her brother, she decides to fight for him. In a soldier uniform, she places a cross at the tomb of her brother. The next scene shows her wounded, probably at Filiași, then she is transported to a train used by the army to evacuate the wounded.

The reorganised army is presented in the image of a battalion marching. The next introduced episode is a mythical one – the attack of the white shirts, an event that actually took place on the 25th of July 1917, during the Battle of Mărășești. Romanians, dressed only in white shirts counter-attacked shouting, fought fiercely and killed the frightened Germans (see Argetoianu 1992 V, 18)[16]. The film presents events from the autumn of 1916, then the summer of 1917.

The war films display an antagonist relation between the harsh battle scenes and those of love. As in war melodramas, there is a love story that satisfies this cliché, as well as the theories of conspiracy concerning the Great War. This is the case of the spy Nadia and the lieutenant Mareș. The narration starts with a demonstration in Bucharest in May 1916; the participants request Romania's entering the war. Immediately after this sequence the viewer meets the nationalist student Mareș talking in a summer garden. He is easily seduced by a spy and attempts to avoid her charms[17] in a short refuge at his friend Nicolae, Ecaterina's brother. This is the moment where Ecaterina enters the scene wearing a traditional Romanian blouse.

However, Mareș meets Nadia again on the front. The nurse Nadia manages to steal a document of military importance from her lover and sends it to the German troops with the help of a pigeon. When Mareș leaves for a mission on the front, exposed to danger, Nadia searches for him and confesses her status, trying to prevent him being killed. She is however killed by a stray bullet and dies in her lover's arms. The moral message of the film supposes that the love surpasses everything and the Romanian man ends up being loved as the prototype of a good honest man.

The film presents in expressive images the retreat of the Romanian Army in Gorj area, where the front was broken at Șoimănești, autumn 1916. The images of soldiers' feet in the dust of the road, evacuation of a military hospital in Gorj county may be the best images of the film. The sequences of the exodus of population may be included in the same category; the scenes are vividly succeeded by images of ghost villages, with only one stray foal running across the street, and a forgotten dog barks furiously in a yard. After the exodus, the place remains empty. The images have a symbolic value, summarizing expressively the refuge of the people.

The famous defence of Târgu Jiu of October 14, 1916 is the focus of the next scenes of the film, when the city is under attack and the civil population, scouts, and militia defend the bridge across the Jiu river. The enemy is absent, as are the women helping and caring for the wounded, Cătălina included. The next sequences present the defence at the railway station. The inhabitants of the city actually played in these sequences of the film, some of them were involved in the city defence. The last image is of a group of Romanian soldiers pushing a train.

This "national war film", montaged and sound edited in Berlin later, did not have the hoped success, although it aimed at supporting Ecaterina's legend. The pacifist films with emotional impact were of higher demand and better realized technically (see French and German productions, especially the American film *Wings* by W. Wellman, 1927), the art films *All Quiet on the Western Front (*directed by Lewis Milestone, 1930) and the impressive German film *Westfront 1918* (directed by Georg W. Pabst, 1930). The economic crisis of 1929-1933 affected

[16] The controversy regarding the attack of the "white shirts" originated in opportunism and/or desire to take pride in others' military credits and has not altered the heroic episode in which the soldiers of Battalion 3 of Regiment 32 "Mircea", led by Major Ionescu Atanasie, have contributed to writing a memorable and glorious page of the War for Romanian Union. Unlike the film's presentation, the unbearable heat and not a collective bathing in the Siret River was the cause to this unusual fight with Romanians in their shirts defying death. This mystified detail in the film script might have been determined by the idea that Romanians could fight under any circumstances, even when being caught unprepared. This episode was abandoned in the subsequent films about Ecaterina Teodoroiu.

[17] However, Mareș meets Nadia again on the front, where she works as a nurse. After a love affair, Nadia steals a secret document from her lover with valuable military information and send it off to the German line with a dove. Upon finding out that the young leutenant is sent to that location to certain death she confesses her guilt, being killed by a stray bullet and nevertheless being mourned by the betraid lover.

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Romania so that the interest for the national epic of the Great War decreased.

The communist period mentioned heroine Teodoroiu rarely if ever (especially during the first period) and the inter-war films and writings about her because of her ties to the royal family and her involvement in the fight for the ideal of Great Romania[18]. The heroine was regarded as an emblematic figure for the Romanian inter-war state - an imperialistic creation during the Stalinist period. The details concerning heroine's scout background were left aside during the Ceaușescu era (1965-1989), as well as her relations with philanthropic societies and the press.

The survival and metamorphosis of the myth in national-communism

In national-communism, Ecaterina's image was reactivated by representations specific for the Romanian national mythology. In this context, the filmic representation of the Romanian national mythology lingers on our heroine as well in the form of Dinu Cocea's film premiered on 4 December 1978[19].

The opening image of the 1978 film is inspired by an older film about the Great War - *Viața nu iartă* (*Life Does Not Forgive*, directed by Iulian Mihu and Manole Marcus, 1959; launched in 1960). The focus is on a canteen which keeps making noise, while in the background a girl with glasses, Cătălina Teodoroiu, comes home from Bucharest. She decides to be of help on the front after finding out war details on the train and from her brother Nicolae. Her decision is fortified by the news of the death of another brother, while the exodus of the population fleeing the invaders hardens her will. The script let the viewer know that her mother and younger sister, along with brother Nicolae are the only surviving members of the family. The filmic narration introduces all the key characters in Ecaterina's life in the first sequences of the film: brother Nicolae, a future comrade, lieutenant Gheorghe Mănoiu and her future fiancé, and general Dragalina. However, the script eludes her involvement in the defence of the city of Jiu as part of the cohort Tudor, given the communist silencing of aspects that dealt with associations and scout organizations linked to royalty and legendary names of the inter-war period.

The heroine swore to avenge her brother's death on the front[20], becoming a nurse in a hospital near the frontline. Although the lack of glasses makes her vulnerable and clumsy, the Transylvanian doctor Mureșan offers her the necessary glasses and she participates at difficult surgeries. The young woman was qualified as a nurse, a fact which is ignored by the filmmakers. There is a slight tone of anti-Semitism in the scene when Ecaterina buys a useless pair of glasses from a Jewish pharmacist. The fact that she was short-sighted would make her useless on the front[21] and it proved to be a serious impediment even in her initial serving as a nurse.

While the 1931 film presented an emasculated version of Catălina, Cocea's film proposes a frail and improbable woman under war circumstances, especially in her role as a plutoon command. Her depiction in the film as a fragile girl helped to get down from the train by her elder brother and her subsequent position in the army seem too much of a distance to be credible. Though actress' physical appearance is closer to Ecaterina, based on the photographs from the period, the actress lacks the energy. This attempt to restore her femininity might be considered excessive, as the viewer is under the impression of a heroine suffocated by her own femininity rendered from a traditional society perspective (fig. 2). When reading her notes from the front, one might be surprised by

[18] Bessarabia has had a difficult historic path, being a part of medieval Moldova. After 1812, after the Russian-Turkish War (1806-1812) this region became part of the Russian Empire (1812-1918). On March 27/ April 9, 1918, while Russia was struggling in the Civil War, Bessarabian Sfatul Țării decided the union with Romania. Thus, Bessarabia was part of the Romanian Kingdom in 1918-1940, but it was annexed by the Soviet Union at the end of June 1940, along with Northern Bukovina and Hertsa region. After a short period of Romanian administration in Bessarabia (summer 1941-spring 1944) it was again annexed by the Soviets.

[19] Script: Mihai Opriș, Vasile Chiriță; director: Dinu Cocea; directors: Gheorghe Nune și Luiza Ciolac; military and historical advisers: Colonel Costică Popa and prof. Elena Udriște; image: Marian Stanciu; music: Ștefan Zorzor, interpreted by the choir and symphonic orchestra of the „Ciprian Porumbescu", cundoctor Paul Popescu; sound track: ing. Dan Ionescu; main actress: Stela Furcovici.

[20] According to some, at least one brother died on the battlefield during the first months of the Great War (Cioroianu 2018), while others state that it was only the case of her brother Nicolae (Mocioi 2011, 16).

[21] This was the cause of T. Kipling's son rejection several times when he attempted to enrol as a volunteer on the western front.

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her diary, describing episodes from the battles and the number of enemies killed[22].

Ecaterina's motivation to fight is highlighted in the film in a dialogue with her mother, as young heroine supports the idea that women are guided by the natural law to defend her nest despite the unnatural act of killing. The film also points out Ecaterina's determination to fight against all reasonable motives to serve the country behind the front line (after severe wounds and pain), as well as placing the patriotic duty above love and fear of death or self-preservation instincts. Taking into account the warrior traditions of the Gorj area, space of the old fighters, the patriotic education of teachers and the popularity of manuals of patriotic education for citizens and soldiers, we appreciate the fact that the heroine had a justification to fight according to the spirit of that era.

The film follows the chronological order of events. Cătălina destroys a location with machine gun, but she remains isolated and is taken prisoner (Cărbunești, Gorj county). However, she manages to kill her escort and finds her platoon to be part of a destruction of armored cannon. This is the scene with the represented stereotype of the advanced war technology opposed to the determination of the soldier who defends the homeland ardently. During the fight (Filiași, Gorj county), Cătălina is gravely wounded at both legs and left shoulder, transported from hospital to hospital (Craiova, royal hospital in Bucharest, then Iași), following the path of the retreat of the army to Moldova.

The film present several scenes from her period spent in the Iași hospital. As Ecaterina was unable to clarify her feelings toward the Transylvanian doctor, the insisting lieutenant Mănoiu manages to attract the young woman's affection. The film offers us images of a loving friendship, according to the communist mores, which is not historically true. It seems that the heroine knew the lieutenant before the war and her desire to get on the front was determined by the fire of a great love. It is also known that Mănoiu did not marry after the war and died during the Second World War in Transylvania.

The period spent in Iași is also the mise-en-scène of the historical events is according to the communist perspective: the heroine is not corrupted by high society of the Queen, determined to make a sensation out of her. There is no mention of the role of these people in the war effort and no information about the royal family support to the soldiers on the front. The special relationship between the Queen and Ecaterina is eluded as well. The vane preoccupations of the high society are in opposition with the military disaster and the retreat to Iași, the desperate situation on the front and on the streets of the city as well.

The lack during the war, the diseases, and the involvement of Transylvanian volunteers in the army are present in the film, presenting heroine's tenacity to go back on the front. She runs away to the front, refusing to serve in the army headquarters. The real people who intervened on her behalf for her to be accepted on the front are not presented in the film. She comes back on a frozen front, with villages in quarantine, unequipped soldiers, some frozen to death, others starving. France is presented as the saviour, providing food and everything necessary, along with new guns. Seeing the planes, the soldiers express their joy reciting traditional verses.

The film supports the idea that Mănoiu spared no efforts to send his fiancé back to the front administration. Meanwhile, refusing to stay away from the front, Ecaterina was decorated and named honorary second lieutenant in spring 1917. After surviving the battle of Mărăști, she dies at Mărășești, killed by a machine gun. The image stops on this sequence (fig. 3), and Ecaterina's younger sister asks naïve question about the meaning of things as an extradiegetic voice. We consider the ending of the film an accomplishment. Although not focused on war bloody scenes and muddy trenches, the ending of the film seems appropriate as it escapes the trap of being too heroic. It is also remarkable that the sign of the royal army are distinguishable on the military helmets. Moreover, while the Romanian film appreciates the Romanian generals (covering their severe strategic mistakes), the famous films *Path of Glory* (directed by S. Kubrik, 1957) and *King and Country* (directed by John Losey in 1964) revealed the incompetence and irresponsibility of the military elite on the western front. The Romanian national-communism renders a positive image of the army of the Great Romania. Only General Dragalina and General Eremia Grigorescu are present in the film. Those who survived the war and were involved in

[22] We have already mentioned the pages from Ecaterina's diary written in Iași (Moșneagu 2018; Apud Gîju 2012, 306-308; Gîju 2010, 16).

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political parties after 1919 (see the case of General Alexandru Averescu), were undesirable in the political discourse of the period.

The Death Triangle, a cinematographic failure

During the first decade after December 1989, the Romanian cultural background is characterized by confrontations between extremists and Europeanists. Under these circumstances, the political and military figures of the Great War and inter-war period are re-evaluated sometimes artificially and indiscriminately. The film *Trunghiul morții/ Triangle of Death* (1999), directed by the renowned Sergiu Nicolaescu[23] proposes a complex perspective on the historical events of World War I and introduces the long forgotten historical personalities – generals, members of the royal family, and traitors. Three plot lines – military and political strategies, the frontline and traitors Struza and Crainiceanu, and Ecaterina's life – seem disparate enough to converge at the end into one dramatic ending.

The actress Ilinca Goia seems a better choice than the previous ones, with the ability to balance her position within the army and gender. In this respect, the actress' voice is more suitable for the role. However, Ecaterina's main traits in Nicolaescu's version contribute to an androgynous creature dedicated to the national cause beyond anything else. Moreover, she is deeply religious – the opening scene is Cătălina praying (fig. 4), alluding to her status of a pure warrior maiden. The closing scenes are the result of exploiting the Romanian oneiric tradition, as the heroine freezes during the retreat while seeing her image dressed as a bride (fig. 5). Besides, she is under the impression of a premonition-dream where she is a bride, which in popular belief is a sign of death. The film is impregnated with a post-communist nationalism, dedicating space to a controversial General Alexandru Averescu and introducing Ion Antonescu.

Conclusions

Of all the warrior heroines of the First World War[24] Ecaterina Teodoroiu was the only one to undergo a long process of mythical metamorphosis. She was the epitome of the rescuing saviour, according to the norms of the political imaginary (Girardet 1986; Voegelin 2010, 131-149). She fought against the Central Powers on the Romanian front to liberate Romania and to contribute to the accomplishment of the national project. Military men and politicians exploited Cătălina's resemblance with the faithful and sacrificing figure of Jeanne d'Arc, transforming the Romanian heroine accordingly. Cătălina was an application of the national pedagogy for all Romanians. The heroic status of Ecaterina Teodoriu was a stable presence during the interwar period. Thus, in the texts and memoirs of former comrades, in fictional works, she appears as an urge to liberate the Northern Transylvania.

In the mythologizing process, Cătălina's portrait was cleansed on any mundane preoccupations (see Manoliu 1940, 2016). It was simplified and reduced to abstraction. Whereas the mythical process surrounding the heroine was efficient in the interwar period (see numerous artistic representations), its myth functionality proved deficient in the communist period, especially in the national-communism. The film of 1978 played a significant role in spreading the legend. Unfortunately, the films from the interwar period were mostly lost, expressing the adulation of the heroine. However, Dinu Cocea's film of 1978 remains, in our opinion, the most notable attempt in presenting Ecaterina, as much as in what possible in that period. Despite the recent remarks of film critics regarding the remake status of Cocea's film, following the 1931 production (Căliman 2000, 286), we express our disagreement with the statement, as the exceptional sound track, the balance between tragic and dramatic situates the film among the best Romanian filmic productions about the First World War.

[23] Script written by C. V. Tudor, the leader of extremist nationalist party "România Mare". Main actress Ilinca Goia.

[24] See also the case of Măriuca in the feature film *Ballad for Măriuca* (1969), directed by Constantin Neagu, Titel Constantinescu (actors: Brîndușa Hudescu, Ion Caramitru). It is a poetic eulogy dedicated to a girl who fell in the battle of Mărășești as a field telephonist, replacing a soldier. She was buried alongside other heroes in the Mărășești Mausoleum. Whereas Măriuca appears as a symbol of heroism in several history textbooks, the focus of the film is on the lyrical-artistic depiction of war events. Cătălina and Măriuca are the only Romanian feminine war heroines of the Great War.

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LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS / LISTA ILUSTRAȚIILOR

1. Ecaterina dressed as a scout searching for her brother on the front – 1931 film./ Ecaterina în haine de cercetaș, căutându-și fratele pe front – filmul din 1931.

2. Ecaterina in 1978 film./ Ecaterina în filmul din 1978.

3. Ecaterina’s death in 1978 film./ Moartea Ecaterinei în filmul din 1978.

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5. Vision of Ecaterina as a bride on the battlefield just before her death in 1999 film./ Viziuna Ecaterinei în rochie de mireasă pe câmpul de luptă, înaintea morții, în filmul din 1999.

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Fig. 1. Ecaterina dressed as a scout searching for her brother on the front – in the 1931 film.

Fig. 2. Ecaterina in the 1978 film.

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Fig. 3. Ecaterina's death in the 1978 film.

Fig. 4. Ecaterina praying in the 1999 film.

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Fig. 5. Vision of Ecaterina as a bride on the battlefield just before her death in the 1999 film.

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THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FACULTY OF MEDICINE FROM CRAIOVA (1970)

Valentin MAIER*

Abstract. *After the World War II, Romania has entered a long and difficult period of reconstruction in the framework of a communist regime. At the same time, the modernization of the country was demanded no matter the political solutions adopted. The industrial development constituted the main economic driver and it was carried in an improved technological framework, extended throughout the country. Most of the times the industrial process was done at the same time with the urbanization of the communities. In this way, the number of inhabitants increased, a certain level of welfare was attained and human capital started to amount. Many such urban settlements demanded specialized workfoce capable to develop the economic activities, but also other public services. Higher education system was regarded as the main source of preparing specialists in sufficient numbers and domains. Also, the higher education centres had a good influence over a whole region and not only for the settlement in which it was based. In this article, we will follow the case of the Faculty of Medicine from Craiova, established in 1970, an institution demanded locally from many years in the past. It is interesting to follow this decision making, especially in a higher education system functioning in a communist regime.*
Keywords: *anniversary, higher education, medicine, University of Craiova, Faculty of Medicine from Craiova.*

Rezumat. *După cel de-Al Doilea Război Mondial, România a intrat într-un lung și dificil proces de refacere care s-a desfășurat în limitele unei dictaturi comuniste. În același timp, modernizarea țării se impunea indiferent de opțiunile politice. Principalul motor economic l-a constituit dezvoltarea industrială într-un cadru tehnologic îmbunătățit și extins în mai multe zone din țară. De cele mai multe ori procesul de industrializare a fost însoțit și de urbanizarea localităților în care se desfășura. S-au dezvoltat mai multe centre urbane care necesitau forță de muncă specializată atât pentru desfășurarea activităților economice, cât și pentru efectuarea diferitelor servicii în beneficiul populației (culturale, medicale, comerciale). S-a ajuns treptat la o creștere a numărului de locuitori, la un anumit nivel de bunăstare și la acumularea de capital uman. Prin sistemul de învățământ superior se încerca acoperirea necesarului de specialiști atât ca număr, cât și ca diversificare a pregătirii. Centrele universitare aveau un rol benefic asupra unei regiuni mai mari și nu doar asupra unei localități. În acest articol, vom urmări cazul Facultății de Medicină din Craiova, înființată în anul 1970, o instituție cerută la nivel local cu mulți ani în urmă. Este interesant de urmărit acest proces decizional, mai ales pentru un sistem de învățământ superior care funcționa într-un cadru dictatorial.*
Cuvinte-cheie: *aniversare, învățământ superior, medicină, Universitatea din Craiova, Facultatea de Medicină din Craiova.*

In the year 1970, a new faculty of medicine was established in the Romanian higher education, at Craiova. This faculty was the sixth faculty of medicine founded, complementing the medical higher education from Bucharest, Iași, Cluj-Napoca, Timișoara and Târgu Mureș (Maier, 2014). Different from these centres of higher education, the faculty of medicine from Craiova was founded not in the structure of a separate institution of higher education, Institute of Medicine (and Pharmacy), but in the structure of fthe University. Even pharmacy in those institutes, was not a component added from the beginning of the reform of education (1948) like in Iași, and was never added during communism to Timișoara.

In the following pages a quick overview of the institutions of higher education in Craiova will be made, showing how many efforts were made to found (later, reestablished) the university and especially the faculty of medicine. We will use the existing literature, but also employ new sources, to understand better the framework in which this foundation was possible.

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Higher education system in Craiova

The first institution of higher education founded in Craiova was the University of Craiova in April 25, 1947 (Legea 138). The law of establishment mentioned a structure of four faculties (the first one mentioned was Human Medicine, followed by Veterinary Medicine; Economics, Commercial and Cooperative Sciences, and Agronomy), with the express addition in the text of the law, that later, other faculties could be created, if needed. From these four faculties only one was actually opened in 1947, the Faculty of Agronomy. It was opened on April 17, 1948, but in the structure of the Agronomic Institute, and it was also called ”the highest tillage school of Oltenia, the first faculty of Oltenia” (Gorun, 2008, 209, 210).

When in 1948 a reform of education was applied in Romania, the University of Craiova was not any more part of the educational system, while the Faculty of Agronomy was transformed into a separate institution of higher education called Agronomic Institute, composed of two faculties, Agrotechnique and Agricultural Machines (Decretul 175; Deciziunea nr. 263327).

Other institutions were founded in the 1950s. In 1951 the Institute of Machines and Electrical Appliances (Institutul de Mașini și Aparate Electrice) was founded with a Faculty of Electrotechnics. In 1953 a new faculty was added: Faculty for the Electrification of Industry, Agriculture and Transport. Three years later, the institute was renamed simply, Technic Institute, was subordinated to the Institute of Polytechnics from Bucharest and comprised only the Faculty of Electrotehnics and its two specializations: machines and electrical appliances and industrial and agricultural electrification (*Universitatea din Craiova*, 2003). In 1958, the institute was disbanded and Craiova continued to have only one institution of higher education up until 1959, when a Pedagogical Institute was founded, through a Ministry Order no. 329 from 21.09.1959 (Spînu, Otovescu, 2017).

In 1965 a law established the founding of the University of Craiova from the next study year, 1966/1967, with seven faculties: Mathematics, Chemistry, Philology, Economics, “a technical faculty” (will become Faculty of Electrotehnics), Agriculture, and Horticulture (Hotărârea 894; Gorun, 2008, 212, 213). Among these faculties we can clearly see, that Faculty of Medicine was not mentioned, at least as it was the case of the university’s structure from 1947. Maybe is also important to note that the first projects regarding the new founding of University of Craiova are dating back from 1964 and they were mentioning only faculties of Agricultural Mechanics, Electrotechnics and Industrial Chemistry. Moreover, the Agronomic Institute was closed, while the Pedagogical Institute of Three Years (Institutul Pedagogic de 3 ani) continued to function under the structure of the University with the faculties of History-Geography and Natural Sciences. Five years later, the Faculty of Medicine will complete the structure of the University of Craiova.

All these developments in the higher education under the “guidance” of communist leaders after 1947 may head us on to a wrong path of believing that the University of Craiova and Faculty of Medicine were all planned by them. In fact, the history is more complicated.

Efforts towards creating the University of Craiova and the Faculty of Medicine from the interwar period to 1965

Having a higher education institution in Oltenia, a historical regional part of Romania, was a long dream and efforts towards seeing it come true can be traced along many decades, even as far as the middle of the 19th Century (Ionescu, 1971, 490; Ciurea, Caragea, 2005, 3).

In published articles and books some of these undertakings are presented, but there is no single work to mention all that are spreaded among them. I will try to present all these recorded initiatives towards the founding of the University of Craiova and also of its faculty of medicine. In addition, original sources from which the published works base their information were consulted and also new sources were found and used.

One of the first recorded initiatives for creating a higher education institution in Oltenia was in interwar period in 1922. Then, General Vasile Rudeanu (1871-1965) proposed the establishment of the University of Oltenia (“Universitatea Olteniei”), also called University from Occidental Romania (“Universitatea din România de Apus”) in a homonymus article published in „Arhivele Olteniei”, no. 1/1922. Another important initiative was the creation of the Free University ”Friends of Science” (”Prietenii Științei”) and Rudeanu was part of its leading Committee. During 1920s, many other proposals were made, asking for higher

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education for the needs of agriculture, industry, political and administration sciences, human and veterinary medicine, law, theology or commerce (Spînu, Otovescu, 2017, 45; Ciobotea, Zarzără, 2008, 128-131; Vladimirescu, Otovescu, 2007, 50, 51).

In 1941 a memoir demanding a higher education institution was signed by Ioan Bianu and an important moment was also at the end of March 1943. Then, Mihai Cănciulescu (1885-1970) presented to the Health Minister Petre Tomescu *The Memoir concerning the founding of a centre of medical higher education at Craiova (Memoir,* 1943*)* in a reunion of County Medical Colleges that took place in Craiova. Cănciulescu (sometimes written ”Cânciulescu”) was the General Secretary of the Medicine Society from Oltenia, President of Medical College of the County Dolj and he established the periodic "Mișcarea Medicală Română. Acta Medica Romana" in 1928, so it was a vey well known personality. At the Service of the County Dolj of the National Archives, it can even be researched his personal fund. The minister assured that the faculty of medicine from Craiova will soon be established as the fourth such faculty. At that time, only Bucharest, Iași and Cluj had faculties of medicine, so Craiova would have been the fourth such centre.

In 1944 there were other demands for the creation of a higher education institution and also of a faculty of medicine (Vladimirescu, Otovescu, 2007, 51). In the beginning of 1945, another memoir was written by an Action Committee lead by the Dean of Dolj Bar of Lawyers, I. B. Georgescu (1882-1958): *Memoir for the establishment of a university at Craiova* (January 12, 1945) (Spînu, Otovescu, 2017, 46, 47). Georgescu has occupied this function between 1939-1946 (Pătrașcu, 2018, 165-186).

In the following year there was another meeting and again it was stressed the need for a higher education institution in Craiova, that should comprise the faculties of medicine, construction, electrotechnics, agronomy (*Universitatea din Craiova*, 2003, 27, 28).

Between 1960 and 1965 different meetings were held, with Ioan (often called ”Iancu”) Jianu (1880-1973) acting as a binder to many other supporting personalities (Ciurea, Caragea, 2005, 7, 8), in order to sustain the initiative to create a faculty of medicine (in 1964 a memoir was written, and even renown poet Tudor Arghezi was convinced by Jianu to write an article in the favor of their cause, entitled *Ascultă Oltule, Măria Ta*) (Gorun, 2008, 213-215). In 1965 a meeting took place with the local officials, studying "in the field" the possibilities to establish an university (Gorun, 2008, 213-215). In the future, new archive documents from central or local institutions of that time, may bring new important facts for the establishment of both University of Craiova in 1966 and its Faculty of Medicine in 1970.

The establishment of Faculty of Medicine in Craiova

After the creation of the University of Craiova in 1966, the problems soon aroused as we become aware of didactical staff bad selection emphasized in a document from 1967 (SANIC, 4/1967, 58-61), but nonetheless the dream of a faculty of medicine still was actual at that time. In October 22, 1968, the first secretary of The Committee of Dolj County of the Romanian Communist Party, Gh. Petrescu, informed Nicolae Ceaușescu through a memoir about the problem of the establishment of the faculty of medicine from Craiova. This important and new document called *Justifying Memoir Regarding the Establishment of the Faculty of Human General Medicine in Craiova, and at the same time of Faculty of Dentistry* was very detailed and offered probably the best arguments for this new establishment (SANIC, 22/1968, 18-24). The arguments in favor were: the insufficient number of physicians, even more pressing because of the increased number of inhabitants, of new medical facilities constructed and because of natural decrease of physicians in the Oltenia region. In the memoir it was written that for a population of 1 or 2 million of inhabitants, one faculty of medicine is required, thus only five faculties in Romania existent at that time were insufficient. Many students from Oltenia studied in the medical higher education in institutions from Transylvania or in Bucharest, but they usually did not come back after graduating. The faculty of medicine was planned to have in its first year of existence, 1969/1970, 50 students and another 50 at the specialization dentistry, also needed and integrated in the faculty. Through these establishments, was thought that all didactical, administrative and social problems could have been resolved (SANIC, 22/1968, 18-24).

In 1969 and even before, groups of specialists were formed and they favorable concluded their analysis about the creation of this faculty in Craiova, but the opportunity to establish a new faculty of

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medicine was studied also at Sibiu and Constanța (Ciurea, Caragea, 2005, 10). Clearly the need for a new faculty of medicine was acknowledged; only the location of it was to be determined. Most of the problematic aspects concerning the location were clarified between December 1969 and February 1970. Ion Gh. Maurer, the president of the Council of Ministers was under pressure to speed up the process, when it was specially asked by Nicolae Ceaușescu to figure out a solution for the establishment of this faculty. In the past, in 1961, Maurer blocked a similar initiative, wanting another centre of higher education to be established and not Craiova, so let alone just a faculty of medicine (Mihalache, 2009, 183, 186). In December 1969, from many proposals, the chosen building was that of the Regional Surgery Hospital (former Gheorghe Chițu" Commercial High School) (Spînu, Otovescu, 2017, 64; Beznă, Beznă, 2008, 234; Ciurea, Caragea, 2005, 10). Also, it is important to mention the contribution of many other personalities from different fields of science, sustaining the need for the founding of this faculty: Petre Vancea, Rene Zamfirescu, Theodor Burghele, Voinea Marinescu, Ion Stănescu, Gheorghe Petrescu, Constantin Băbălău, Ion Zăvăleanu, Mircea Oprean, Ionel Cetăţeanu, Tiberiu Nicola, Iulian Semen, Gh. Gaston-Marin, Ştefan Milcu, Petre Firu, Ion Predescu, Ion Roșculescu, Vasile Bumbăcescu, Gheorghe Enache, Vladimir Beldiman, Ioana Stancoveanu, Mircea Duţulescu, Ilie Bădicuţ, Constantin Doncea, Aurel Moga.

In the transcript of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee (CC) of Romanian Communist Party (RCP) from June 3, 1969 we can find out that the most convincing argument for a faculty of medicine established in Craiova was the recorded unbalance in the counties of Oltenia regarding the number of inhabitants per one physician as compared to other regions (in Oltenia's counties like Olt or Gorj there was 1 physician at 1600 inhabitants, respective 1400 inhabitants, while in Argeș or Mureș it was 700-800) (SANIC, 87/1969, 9). From another statistical set of data, dating back from 1968 the situation was like this: 1 physician per 1106 inhabitants in Dolj County, 1630 in Olt County, 1409 in Gorj, 1073 in Mehedinți and 1152 in Vâlcea, all counties from Oltenia, while for comparison, in Argeș County there were 903 or in Hunedoara 847 inhabitants (SANIC, 22/1968, 24). At the same time, the possibility to also lay the foundation for a faculty of dentistry was analyzed, and was clearly regarded as a working measure in 1967 (SANIC, 22/1968, 21, 22). Eventually, it was dropped two years later, because of the existing corresponding faculties in the country were deemed enough to sustain the demand of such specialists (SANIC, 87/1969, 9).

Finally, On February 5, 1970 the Faculty of General Medicine was established in the framework of the University of Craiova (Hotărârea 59). The official act was followed 5 days later by a communique, (Ionescu, 1971, 490). It was not an easy task, and Ministries of Education and Health, Executive Committee and Popular Council of Dolj County, along with Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy from Bucharest offered a sustained support throughout this process. On October 1, 1970, the first study year at the Faculty of Medicine from Craiova, opened its courses to the students. As for the strenghtening of this new institution, it continued the following years, 1970-1974, when other buildings needed to serve the faculty were opened (student dorm and canteen, sports field etc.) and also additional didactical staff was hired (Ciurea, Caragea, 2005, 12, 13). Among the first graduates was Tudorel Ciurea, later, in 1998, the first Rector of the University of Medicine and Pharmacy of Craiova, institution that continues the tradition of the faculty of medicine established in 1970.

At the beginning of its functioning, only five faculty departments were organized: Functional Explorations and Clinical Laboratory, Surgery-Anatomy, Surgery-Pathology, Semiology-Pediatrics-Infectious Diseases and Medical-Psychiatry (*Universitatea din Craiova*, 2003, 38; Spînu, Otovescu, 2017, 64-67). In 1976, Craiova had its first 96 graduates from Faculty of Medicine (Ciurea, Caragea, 2005, 13).

As for the support from the Institute of Medicine and Pharmacy from Bucharest, one way it was offered was through didactical staff, even the dean of the faculty was coming from Bucharest, Valeriu S. Neștianu (born in 1926, graduated in 1951 and then occupied different research and didactical functions), which entered this function from as early as March 18, 1970 until January 1, 1973 (Mihalache, 2009, 186, 187). Some of the first professors were: Raul Robacki (also vice-dean), Ion Roșculescu, Mihai Oțoiu, Angel Trăilă or Ion Ilinescu.

In the first year of study, 1970/1971, 100 students were divided among 4 groups of students, among them 64 being female students (AME, 369/1970).

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Other sources mentions 102 students (AINS, 1970, 6; Ciurea, Caragea, 2005, 13). An interesting set of data from just the following year, shows that most of the students, 133 of the 295 students (195 freshmen and 100 in the second year of study), were coming from a family of workers, and the second most important category was that clerks (AME, 329/1971). This data is important in showing the level of accesibility granted in the higher education, even from the first years of existence of the faculty of medicine in Oltenia.

Conclusions

After many decades of continuing efforts, a faculty of medicine was established in Craiova in 1970. The process of convincing the political leaders of its importance, demanded many reunions and debates and writing of memoirs first to the regional authority, and afterwards at the highest national level, as we traced from the new sources identified. When these activities were combined with convincing arguments, the national leaders were forced to acknowledge the urgency of this new institution in Oltenia, putting aside other possible options and at the same time, putting together the resources of many institutions to fulfill this measure in Craiova.

This establishment of the Faculty of Medicine in Craiova is an interesting case in the medicine higher education from Romania, for which we can discover its steps across decades. At the time of its founding, the Faculty of Medicine became the sixth such institution in Romania, after Bucharest, Iași, Cluj-Napoca, Timișoara and Târgu Mureș, thus concluding the structure of medicine higher education until 1989 and the fall of communism.

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b. Archive documents

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BRUKENTHAL NATIONAL MUSEUM IN 2019: A CHRONICLE OF HISTORY EXHIBITIONS AND EVENTS

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Abstract: *The present study is a synthetic presentation of Brukenthal National Museum's cultural offer in the field of history during 2019.*
Keywords: *Brukenthal National Museum, history, 2019.*

Rezumat: *Articolul de faţă constituie o prezentare sintetică a ofertei culturale a Muzeului Național Brukenthal în domeniul istoriei, pe parcursul anului 2019.*
Cuvinte cheie: *Muzeul Național Brukenthal, istorie, 2019.*

1. Temporary exhibitions[1]

Out of the total of 38 temporary exhibitions opened in 2019 at the Museum's locations, 8 displayed selections of works in various historical fields. Also to be noted, in the exhibition agenda of the *Altemberger House* Museum of History, are the traveling exhibitions, all Brukenthal Museum exclusive, that were organized as part of the Brukenthal Cultural Axis[2] program.

a. Exhibitions at the Museum's locations

_Vasile Stoica (Casa Albastră/Blue House, Multimedia Hall, 23.01 -24.02, partners: Făgăraş Museum, Stefadina Association): the exhibition was dedicated to the diplomat Vasile Stoica, born in Avrig, near Sibiu.

_Golden Age. Industrial Vibes (Museum of Contemporary Art, 16.05-2.06): the exhibition aimed to bring public attention to the visual culture from the communist period, closely related to the policies of industrialization and the emergence of the "new man" as representative of the socialist labor. The visual dialogue adjoined prints and paintings, models and equipment prototypes developed in the Sibiu factories, as well as documents that prove the importance and the status of man as a pillar of industrial progress.

_Around the World in 120 + Chess Games (*Altemberger House* Museum of History, 17.05-16.08, partner Emil Sitaru): Brukenthal National Museum in Sibiu, together with the SITAS Chess Academy in Cluj, had the pleasure of inviting the public to an imaginary walk around the Earth, through the fascinating collection of chess games owned by Professor Emil Sitaru.

_Baroque Cuisine (Brukenthal Palace, inner courtyard, 26.07 - 31.12): part of the "The palace with two kitchens: Baroque culinary experiences at the residence of the Governor of Transylvania" project, co-financed by the National Cultural Fund Administration and implemented by Brukenthal National Museum, the exhibition presented, to the visitor public, details about the ingredients used, the way they were prepared and the baroque culinary trends, through the means of documentary prints displayed in the inner courtyard of the Brukenthal Palace, also illustrating 18th and 19th c. items in Treasury and Guilds and Glass collections of the *Altemberger House* Museum of History (Fig. 1).

_The oldest prehistoric city in Romania, dated by modern means (*Altemberger House* Museum of History, inner courtyard, 1 – 31.10): part of the "The oldest prehistoric city in Romania dated by modern means" project, co-financed by the National Cultural Fund Administration and implemented by Brukenthal National Museum, exhibition presented the first prehistoric city of Turdaș-Luncă, the 1874 discoveries by Zsófia von Torma – the first woman archeologist in Romania, the history of the research so far, which proved that, near the village of Turdaș, at Luncă point, there is the oldest urban settlement in the Romania (fortifications with a diameter of 1 km and 3-4 dwelling horizons). Also, the carbon dating and its principles were presented.

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[1] The short descriptions of temporary exhibitions are selected from the texts given by the curators for public information.

[2] Launched in 2012, the *Brukenthal Cultural Axis* program is aiming at a closer cooperation with other museums in Romania through the means of a large variety of activities as: traveling exhibition, exhibition exchange and shared exhibition programs, professional expertise exchange, symposiums, round tables and meetings.

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_Cuisine between necessity and art (Casa Albastră/Blue House, Multimedia Hall, 31.10 – 24.11): the exhibition presented items from the collections of the Brukenthal National Museum – The *Altemberger House* Museum of History, from prehistory to the modern period, from burnt clay pots dated in the early Neolithic to vessels made from copper, tin, silver and glass, from the 16th to the 19th centuries (Fig.2).

_1989 – a year that must not be forgotten (Piața Mare / Grand Square, 15.11 - 15.12): the exhibition was part of the project "The living museum - 30 years since the 1989 Revolution", an action co-financed by the Local Council and the City Hall of Sibiu; in the context of contemporary history and of the need to create a collection with a complex material base (for the benefit of future generations), the exhibition presented, through 12 panels, documentary materials belonging to the Brukenthal National Museum, associated with the main moments of the events of December 1989 in Sibiu: urban spaces, buildings and people whose involvement were marked by the fall of the communist regime and the resistance associated with this historical change (Fig. 3).

_The Living Museum – 30 years since the Revolution of 1989 (Casa Albastră/Blue House, Multimedia Hall, 13.12.2019 - 5.01.2020): the exhibition comes as a consequence of the donation campaign through which the contemporary history collection of the *Altemberger House* Museum of History was enriched with important testimonies regarding the events of December 1989 in Sibiu as photos, press, first free speech from December 22, 1989, flags and other. Thus, the exhibition comprised both existing items in the museum collections and some of the recent donations. The exhibition was part of the project "The living museum - 30 years since the 1989 Revolution", an action co-financed by the Local Council and the City Hall of Sibiu.

b. Travelling exhibitions presenting Brukenthal National Museum's collections[3]

_White weaponry and firearms from the collections of Brukenthal Museum (Banat Musem, Reșița, 24.04 – 20.06): the exhibition aimed at presenting the most impressive items in the Brukenthal collections of armory and weaponry.

_Food serving, between medieval and modern (18.05 – 31.12, Valer Literat Făgăraș Museum): part of the project "Cuisine at the Princely Court of Transylvania in the 16th Century", co-financed by the Administration of the National Cultural Fund in 2018 and implemented by Brukenthal National Museum, in the direction of the sustainable development strategies of Sibiu county, for the recognition of food gastronomy at the level of local and regional policies, inside the 2019 Sibiu European Gastronomic Region, the exhibition presents, a brief history on the evolution of the dishes and cutlery used in the European space, at the crossing between medieval and modern. From serving meals on slices of stale bread, to using special dishes for keeping the warm or cold temperature of the food, the stories of the exhibition followed the evolution of the knife from the white weapon to the table knife, the materials chosen for the production of the spoons or the story about the Cinderella of cutlery – the fork, whose generalized use only succeeded in the era of industrialization. Also, the narrative of the exhibition follows the way in which the social status is underlined through the purchase and use of tableware. There were presented silver, tin, copper and steel items from the collections of the *Altemberger House* Museum of History, dating back to the 16th century, up to the 19th century, objects that are less known or have not been displayed until that occasion.

_History and Natural History from Brukenthal Museum collections (Călimănești Convention and Exhibition Center, 20.05-31.12, partners: Vâlcea County Council, Călimăneşti City Hall): Brukenthal National Museum's heritage consists of over 1,600,000 pieces, from extremely varied domains, of which 1% are exhibited in permanent exhibitions at the museum's premises. In this context, Brukenthal National Museum, through the Brukenthal Cultural Axes (program initiated in 2012), aimed to display the items preserved in storages through the means of temporary and thematic exhibitions, together with partner museums, one of them being the County Museum Aurel Sacerdoţianu in Vâlcea; as result of this joint venture, a new concept of visiting storage was launched at the Center for Conferences and Exhibitions in Călimăneşti.

2. Online exhibitions

_The Living Museum – 30 years since the Revolution of 1989

http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/virtuale/1989/

Project co-financed by the Local Council and the City Hall of Sibiu

[3] The short descriptions of the temporary traveling exhibitions are selected from the texts given by the curators for public information.

https://biblioteca-digitala.ro / https://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro

_*The oldest prehistoric city in Romania, dated by modern means*

http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/virtuale/oras_preistoric/

Project, co-financed by the National Cultural Fund Administration

_*The palace with two kitchens: Baroque culinary experiences at the residence of the Governor of Transylvania*

http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/virtuale/gastro_baroc/

Project, co-financed by the National Cultural Fund Administration

3. Participating in exhibitions

_*The historical and cultural heritage of the Germans in Romania* (National Museum of Romanian History, Bucharest, 12.06 – 2.09): the exhibition was organized by the Ministry of Culture and National Identity and National Museum of Romanian History

_*Great photographers from Transylvania, 19th – 20th centuries* (2nd edition, 9.10 – 31.12): the exhibition was organized by the Maramureș County Museum of History and Archaeology

4. Events hosted by the *Altemberger House* Museum of History or having historical subject

a. Conferences: scientific and of public interest

_Sabin Adrian Luca, *A set of bone tips discovered in the Neolithic settlement of Turdaș-Luncă, Hunedoara County* (Bucharest, the Romanian Academy, March)

_Sabin Adrian Luca, *A prehistoric city in Europe. Neolithic site from Turdaș-Luncă (Hunedoara County)* (Banat Museum, Timișoara, March)

_Sabin Adrian Luca, *A prehistoric city in Europe. Neolithic site from Turdaș-Luncă (Hunedoara County)* (Casa de Cultură Caransebeș, March)

_Sabin Adrian Luca, *A prehistoric city in Europe. Neolithic site from Turdaș-Luncă (Hunedoara County)* (Oradea Museum, March)

_Sabin Adrian Luca, *The prehistoric city of Turdaș* (Mihail Kogălniceanu Museum, Iași, April)

_Sabin Adrian Luca, *The prehistoric city of Turdaș* (Bucovina Museum, Suceava, April)

_Alexiu Tatu, *Comparative tour on the evolution of the concept of encyclopedia* (Casa Albastră/Blue House, 19.12): the conference was part of "The Living Museum – 30 years since the Revolution of 1989" project (Fig. 4)

_Radu Preda, *Three decades of freedom. Three decades of helplessness* (Casa Albastră/Blue House, 20.12): the conference was part of "The Living Museum – 30 years since the Revolution of 1989" project

b. Book-launch

_„In honorem prof.univ.dr. Sabin Adrian Luca. Istorie și destin", Biblioteca Brukenthal LXXIII (German Forum, Sibiu, 18.05)

c. Campaigns

_Collecting campaign for documentary material on the communist period, December 1989 and the first months of 1990 in Sibiu (Museum of History, 1-29.11): over 100 items were donated on the occasion. The campaign was part of "The Living Museum – 30 years since the Revolution of 1989" project

5. Published materials of historical subject

a. Books:

_*** (editor Dana Roxana Hrib, coordinators Raluca Maria Teodorescu, Alexandru Constantin Chituță, Adrian Georgescu, Anamaria Tudorie), *In honorem prof. univ. dr.Sabin Adrian Luca Istorie și destin*, in *Biblioteca Brukenthal LXXIII,* Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu 2019, 451 p. (ISBN 978-606-8815-36-7).

_Sabin Adrian Luca (colab.: Florentin Perianu), *Un oraș preistoric din Europa. Turdaș-Luncă. Sector A*, in *Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis* 26, Editura Universității „Lucian Blaga" din Sibiu, Sibiu (2019, vol. I.1), 351 p. (ISBN 978-606-12-1650-5; ISBN vol. 1 978-606-12-1651-2).

_Sabin Adrian Luca (colab.: Vasile Palaghie și Florentin Perianu), *Un oraș preistoric din Europa. Turdaș-Luncă. Sector A*, in *Bibliotheca Septemcastrensis* 27, Editura Universității „Lucian Blaga" din Sibiu, Sibiu (2019, vol. II.1), 222 p.

_Sabin Adrian Luca, I. Al. Aldea, *Album. Evoluția picturii în situl neolitic și eneolitic de la Tărtăria-Gura Luncii* (II), in Biblioteca Brukenthal 75, Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu (2019), 203 p., (ISBN 978-606-8815-48-0).

_Anca Nițoi, *Relații Interetnice în Transilvania. Arme și armuri în Transilvania evului mediu târziu*, Sibiu 2019, 270 p. (ISBN: 978-606-733-294-0).

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_Alexandru Gh. Sonoc, Claudiu I. Munteanu, *Medaliile papale din colecția Muzeului Național Brukenthal*, Editura Muzeului Național Brukenthal, Sibiu, 2019, 211 p. (ISBN: 978-606-8815-50-3).

b. Catalogues:

_Dana Hrib, Raluca Frîncu, Raluca Teodorescu, *Palatul cu două bucătării. Experiențe culinare baroc la reședința Guvernatorului Transilvaniei / The palace with two kitchens: Baroque culinary experiences at the residence of the Governor of Transylvania*, Sibiu, 2019; 80 p. (ISBN 978-606-8815-46-6).[4]

_Raluca Maria Teodorescu, Dana Roxana Hrib, *1989 – un an ce nu trebuie uitat / A year that must not be forgotten*, Sibiu, Editura Muzeului Naţional Brukenthal, 2019 (ISBN 978-606-8815-54-1).[5]

c. Brochures

_Raluca Teodorescu, Dana Hrib, *Primul oraș din România datat cu mijloace moderne / The oldest prehistoric city in Romania dated by modern means*, Sibiu 2019.[6]

6. Scientific symposiums

_"The kitchen between necessity and art" (Museum of History, 17 – 18.05)

_The LIII National Session of Archaeological Reports (13 – 15.09): organized by the Romanian Ministry of Culture and National Identity and Brukenthal National Museum

7. Projects

_"E-culture: Digital Library of Romania" (since 2018)

Financing: Competitiveness Operational Programme 2014-2020

The project is implemented in 29 institutions from Romania, among which Brukenthal National Museum.

_"The palace with two kitchens: Baroque culinary experiences at the residence of the Governor of Transylvania" (May – September)[7]

Co-financed by National Cultural Fund Administration

Partners: SC Gastro Rama SRL, Asociația Elijah

_"The oldest prehistoric city in Romania dated by modern means" (June – November)[8]

Co-financed by National Cultural Fund Administration

Partner: Horia Hulubei Institute for Nuclear Physics

_"Living Museum – 30 years since the Revolution of 1989" (October – December)[9]

Co-financed by the Local Council and the City Hall of Sibiu.

4 Romanian / English, free for download http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/virtuale/gastro_baroc/catalog_en.html
5 Romanian / English, free for download http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/virtuale/1989/catalog_en.html
6 Romanian / English, free for download http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/virtuale/oras_preistoric/brosura_en.html
7 http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/virtuale/gastro_baroc/index_en.html
8 http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/virtuale/oras_preistoric/index_en.html
9 http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/virtuale/1989/index_en.html

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_http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/index2.php/virtuale
_http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/index2.php/ro/expo
_http://www.brukenthalmuseum.ro/publicatii/index.html

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LIST OF ABREVIATIONS

AA	*Acta Adriatica.*
ActaAH	*Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Budapest.
ACS	Asociaţia culturală Sarmizegetusa.
ActaMN	*Acta Musei Napocensis*, Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.
ActaMP	*Acta Musei Porolissensis*, Zalău.
ActaSic	*ActaSiculica*, Sfântu-Gheorghe
ActaTS	*Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis, Universitatea „Lucian Blaga” din Sibiu*
Angustia	*Angustia*, Muzeul Carpaților Răsăriteni, Sfântu Gheorghe.
AnB(SN)	*Analele Banatului*, Serie nouă, Timişoara.
Annales UA	*Annales Universitatis Apulensis.*
AP	*Andean Past.*
Apulum	*Apulum. Acta Musei Apulensis*, Alba Iulia.
Archaeo-Mal	*The Archaeo-Malacology Grup Newsletter*, Wallingford, U.K.
Archeologické Rozhledy	*Archeologicke Rozhledy*, Praga.
ArchErt	*Archaeologiai Értesitö*, Budapest.
Arheologia	*Arheologia*, Sofia.
AȘU	*Analele Științifice ale Universității „Al. I. Cuza”*, Iași.
ATS	*Acta Terrae Septemcastrensis*, Sibiu.
AVSL	*Archiv des Verains für Siebenbürburgische Landeskunde, Neue Folge, Hermannstadt/Sibiu*
BAM	*Brvkenthal Acta Mvsei*, Sibiu.
Banatica	*Banatica*, Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița
BAR	*Brittish Archaeological Reports. International Series*, Oxford.
BEN	*Bibliotheca Ephemeris Napocensis, Institutul de Arheologie și Istoria Artei, Academia Română, Cluj-Napoca*
BB	*Bibliotheca Brukenthal*, Sibiu.
BCMI	*Buletinul Comisiei Monumentelor Istorice, București*
BCSS	*Buletinul Cercurilor Ştiinţifice Studenţeşti. Arheologie – Istorie – Muzeologie*, Alba Iulia.
BMA	*Bibliotheca Musei Apulensis*, Alba Iulia.
BMN	*Bibliotheca MuseiNapocensis*, Cluj-Napoca
BMN.CP	*Biblioteca Muzeului Național. Seria Cercetări Pluridisciplinare, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București*
BrukAM	*Brukenthal. Acta Musei, Muzeul Național Brukenthal, Sibiu*
BS	*Biblioteca Septemcastrensis*, Universitatea „Lucian Blaga” din Sibiu
CCA	*Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice*, Bucureşti.
CCDJ	*Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Muzeul Dunării de Jos, Călărași*
Cercetări Istorice	*Cercetări Istorice* (Serie Nouă), Iaşi.
CetDacTrans	*Cetăți dacice din Sudul Transilvaniei*, Bucureşti.
ComArchHung	*Communicationes Archaeologicae Hungaricae.*
Corviniana	*Corviniana. Acta Musei Corvinensis*, Hunedoara.
Crisia	*Crisia*, Tara Crisurilor Museum, Oradea.
Dacia	*Dacia. Revue d’archéologie et d’histoire ancienne*, Nouvelle Série, Bucharest.
DocPrae	*Documenta Praeistorica*, Ljubljana.
Dolgozatok	*Dolgozatok*, Szeged.
EJA	*European Journal of Archeology*, Oxford.
FolArch	*Folia Archaeologica*, Budapest.
ForVL	*Forschungen zur Volks- und Landeskunde, Institutul de Științe Socio-Umane al Academiei Române, Sibiu*
Gumowski	Marian Gumowski, *Handbuch der polnischen Numismatik*, Graz, 1960.
HERA	*Human and Ecological Risk Assessment.*

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Huszár	Lajos Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis heute*, München, 1979.
Izvestia	*Izvestija na Narodnija Muzej Varna.*
JAS	*Journal of Archeological Sciences*, , Amsterdam.
JSR	*Journal of Sedimentary Research*, Tulsa, U.S.A.
Martin	Ferenc Martin, *Kolonialprägungen aus Moesia Superior und Dacia*, Budapesta – Bonn, 1992.
MCA	*Materiale şi cercetări arheologice*, Bucureşti.
MBR	G. Buzdugan, O. Luchian, C. C. Oprescu, *Monede şi bancnote româneşti*, Bucureşti, 1977.
MemAntiq	*Memoria Antiquitatis. Acta Musei Petrodavensis*, Piatra Neamţ.
MonArch	*MonumentaArchaeologica*, Los Angeles, U.S.A.
Monografii	- *Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București*
PA	*Preistoria Alpina*, Trento.
PaläontZ	PaläontologischeZeitschrift, Berlin.
PB	Patrimonium Banaticum, Direcția pentru cultură a județului Timiș, Timișoara
PBF	*Prähistorische Bronzefunde*, München.
PMJH	*Publicațiile Muzeului Județean Hunedoara-Deva, Deva*
Pontica	*Pontica*, Constanța.
RA	*Revista de Arheologie*, București.
RB	*Revista Bistriței*, Bistrița.
Rengjeo	Ivan Rengjeo, *Corpus der mittelalterichen Münzen von Kroatien, Slavonien, Dalmatien und Bosnien*, Graz, 1959.
RepAlba	*Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Alba*, 1995.
RepArhSB	Sabin Adrian Luca, Zeno-Karl Pinter, Adrian Georgescu, *Repertoriul arheologic al judeţului Sibiu*, Sibiu, 2003.
RIC	Harold Mattingly, Edward A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, III, London, 1930.
RMMMIA	*Revista muzeelor şi monumentelor. Monumente istorice şi de artă*, Bucureşti.
SAA	*Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Universitatea „Al.I. Cuza", Iași*
Sargetia	*Sargetia. Acta Musei Devensis, Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva*
SCIV(A)	*Studii şi Cercetări de Istorie Veche (şi Arheologie)*, Bucureşti.
ScriptaGeo	*ScriptaGeologica*, Leiden.
SIC.SH	*Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis. Series Historia, Universitatea „Lucian Blaga" din Sibiu*
SlovArch	*Slovenská Archeológia*, Nitra.
StComBruk	*Muzeul Brukenthal, Studii și Comunicări – Ştiințe Naturale*, Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu
StudArchHis	*Studia Archaeologica et Historica. Nicolao Gudea Dicata*. Bibliotheca Musei Porolissensis IV/2001, Zalău.
StudPre	*Studii de Preistorie, București*
SUBB	*Studia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai*, Universitatea „Babeș-Bolyai", Cluj-Napoca
Symposia	Thracologica Symposia Thracologica, Bucureşti.
TCIC	*Techniques & Culture, Itinéraires de coquillages.*
Thraco-Dacica	*Thraco-Dacica. Institutul Roman de Tracologie*, Bucureşti.
TJS	*Turkish Journal of Zoology.*
Wcoins a	C. R. Bruce II (ed.), *Standard Catalog of World Coins. Seventeenth Century. 1601 - 1700*, 4th ed., Iola, 2008.
WCoins b	C. R. Bruce II (ed.), *Standard Catalog of World Coins. Eighteenth Century. 1701 – 1800*, 3rd ed., Iola, 2002.
WMSDB	*Worldwide Mollusc Species Data Base.*
Zargidava	*Zargidava*. Revistă de istorie, Bacău.
Ziridava	*Ziridava. Studia Archaeologica*, Muzeul Arad.

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MUZEUL NAȚIONAL BRUKENTHAL

PUBLICAȚIILE PERIODICE APĂRUTE DE-A LUNGUL TIMPULUI
(INCLUSIV PRECURSORII)

CRONOLOGIE	ISTORIE, ARHEOLOGIE	ARTA PLASTICĂ	ȘTIINȚELE NATURII	RESTAURARE	ETNOGRAFIE
Ante 1950		Mitteilungen aus dem Baron von Brukentalischen Museum 1931-1937 - Neue Folge I-VII 1941 - Neue Folge I-VIII 1944 - Neue Folge IX-X 1946-1947 - Neue Folge XI-XII	Verhandlungen und Mitteilungen der siebenbürgischen Vereins für Naturwiessenschaften zu Hermannstadt 1849-1945 95 de numere		
1959-1989	Studii și comunicări Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu 1956, nr. 1 1965, nr. 12 1967, nr. 13 Volum omagial, Anuarul Muzeului Brukenthal, 1817-1967 1969, nr. 14 1973, nr. 18 1975, nr. 19 1977, nr. 20 1981, nr. 21	Studii și comunicări Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu 1956, nr. 4, 5 1956, nr. 7 Istoria culturii 1978, nr. 1 1979, nr. 2	Studii și comunicări Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu 1958, nr. 10, 11 1970, nr. 15 1971, nr. 16 1972, nr. 17 1973, nr. 18 1975, nr. 19 1976, nr. 20 1977, nr. 21 1978, nr. 22 1979, nr. 23 1980, nr. 24 + Supliment 1983, nr. 25 + Supliment 1984, nr. 26 1998, nr. 27 2003, nr. 28 2004, nr 29 + Supliment		Studii și comunicări Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu 1956, nr. 2, 3, 6 1958, nr. 8, 9 Cibinium, Studii și materiale privind Muzeul tehnicii populare din Dumbrava Sibiului, Sibiu 1966, vol I 1967/68, vol II 1969/73, vol III 1974/78, vol IV 1979/83, vol V
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